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ADMIRAL VISCOUNT KEPPEL.

THE LIFE

OF

ADMIRAL VISCOUNT EXMOUTH.

By EDWARD OSLER, Esq.

21391

For every virtue, every worth renown'd,
Sincere, plain hearted, hospitable, kind;
Yet like the mustering thunder when provoked,
The dread of tyrants, and the true resource
Of those who under grim oppression groan'd.

THOMSON.

LONDON:

SMITH, ELDER AND CO., CORNHILL,

BOOKSELLERS TO THEIR MAJESTIES.

1835.

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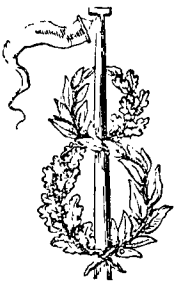

TO

THE NAVY,

The Bulwark of their Country,

AND WHOSE TRIUMPHS ARE THE PRIDE OF HER HISTORY,

THIS WORK

IS MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED.

PREFACE.

THE following Memoir has been undertaken with the sanction of Lord Exmouth's elder and only surviving brother, whose recollections, and a correspondence which extends over more than fifty years, in which Lord Exmouth communicates his views and motives without reserve, have supplied the chief materials for a personal history. On points of service, officers who were prominently engaged have given every assistance; and the whole has been completed by a reference to documents in the public offices.

The example, like the services, of an eminent public man, belongs to his country. The author has therefore felt it a duty to make this work accessible by compressing it within the

smallest compass. Few letters are necessary to illustrate a life so crowded with incident: and the most simple narrative of Lord Exmouth's actions is best calculated to display his character.

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THE LIFE

OF

ADMIRAL VISCOUNT EXMOUTH.

CHAPTER I.

The life and services of Lord Exmouth are of no common interest; not more because he has advanced the reputation of his Country, and connected his name with her history, than that he began his career an almost unfriended orphan, and rose to the highest honours of his profession without having been indebted to fortune or to patronage. One of the most interesting spectacles is that of rising merit struggling from its difficulties. The most encouraging is the success which rewards its exertions. The young officer, who, like him, has devoted himself to an arduous ser-

vice, with nothing to rely on but his character and his sword, may derive instruction from his example and encouragement from his success.

Edward Pellew, Viscount Exmouth, descended from a family which was settled in the west of Cornwall for many centuries, but came originally from Normandy, where the name is still met with. After the close of the war he received a letter from a family there, claiming kindred, and offering the name and armorial bearings in proof. The original orthography, "Pelleu," was retained until a comparatively recent period. They are said to have landed at Pengersick Castle, near St. Michael's Mount, and appear to have remained in that part of the country until the beginning of the 17th century. They had a family tomb in Breage, a parish on the eastern side of the Mount's Bay, in which they had acquired property, and they still possess a small estate in that neighbourhood. Part of this early history, it will be seen, can rest only upon tradition; and, indeed, it is of very little importance. The weakness of seeking credit from remote ancestors, for one whose personal honours require no farther illustration, is almost exploded. But there is one kind of ancestry where an inquiry will always be interesting—that where the traits which distinguish the founder of

a family may be traced in the character of his forefathers.

The earliest of the family of whom any thing is certainly known, lived during the great rebellion at Plymouth, where his loyalty made him so obnoxious to the republicans, that the mob on one occasion assaulted him on the Hoe, and plundered his house. A small piece of antique plate, still preserved, and bearing the date 1645, was the only article of value saved from them. His son, Captain Pellew, Lord Exmouth's great-grandfather, served in the navy during the war of the succession. A very fine portrait of him remains.

Humphry Pellew, the grandfather, was a merchant of consideration, as the official revenue books attest. He held a large property in shipping, and traded chiefly to America, where he had purchased a valuable tobacco plantation of 2000 acres, in Kent Island, Maryland. Of this estate, upon which the town of Annapolis Royal is partly built, the writings remain, but the property was lost at the revolt of the colonies. No portion of the compensation fund voted by Parliament was in this instance ever received; and General Washington afterwards declared to a friend of the family, that the fact of three of the brothers having borne

arms against the States would prevent the success of any application to the American Government.

Mr. Pellew built part of Flushing, a large village on the shores of Falmouth harbour, including the present manor-house, in which he resided; but this, being leasehold property, has long ago reverted to the lord. In 1692, he married Judith Sparnon, of Sparnon and Pengelly, in Breage, by whom he had six sons and five daughters. Mr. Pellew maintained a high character through life, and his memory is still preserved among the older inhabitants of the village. He died in 1721. His son Israel married Miss Trefusis, upon whom the estate of Trefusis, which includes Flushing, was entailed, in default of more direct heirs from the then possessor: Thomas married Miss Whittaker, who was grand-daughter of Viscount Fauconberg, by a daughter of Cromwell: three died unmarried; and the children of the youngest son were at length the only male survivors of the family.

Samuel, youngest son of Humphry Pellew, was eight years old when he lost his father. He commanded a Post-office packet on the Dover station, to which he had been appointed through the interest of the Spencer family. In 1752, he married Constance Langford, daughter of Edward Lang-

ford, Esq. of Herefordshire, but then residing in the west of Cornwall, a woman of extraordinary spirit. From the recollections of his family, as well as from documents which have been preserved, he appears to have been most exemplary in the duties of private life. It was his practice to make his children drink the King's health on their knees every Sunday. Mr. Pellew was a man of great determination, and became in consequence the subject of a characteristic song, which was long remembered by the watermen and others at Calais. He died in 1765, leaving six children, four of them boys, of whom the eldest was at that time eleven years old, and Lord Exmouth, the second, only eight. Three years after, an imprudent marriage of the widow deprived the children of their remaining parent, and threw them upon the world with scanty resources, and almost without a friend.

It has been well observed, that a general condition of distinguished eminence is to be required to force a way to it through difficulties. Desertion at an early age, indeed, subjects the individual to a most severe trial; but where there is strength to bear the discipline, it exalts the principle which it fails to subdue, and adds force to the energies which it cannot tame. The Pellews

were probably indebted for much of their success, as well as for the fearless independence which distinguished them, to the circumstances which thus compelled them from childhood to rely only upon themselves.

United by their common difficulties, the family were so closely connected, that it would be impossible to give Lord Exmouth's history without frequent references to two of his brothers, both of whom were honourably employed in the service of their Country. For this reason, and because the success of a whole family, when obtained by their own exertions, is so much more remarkable than that of an individual, it has been thought proper to give a short account of each. The narratives will be found in the Appendix.

Edward, second son of Samuel and Constance Pellew, was born at Dover, April 19, 1757. He was named after his maternal grandfather, and as there appeared at first little probability that he would live, he was baptized on the same day. Before he was quite eight years old, he lost his father. The widow then removed with her family to Penzance, where he was placed at school with the Rev. James Parkins, the clergyman of the parish. Here he gave a remarkable proof of a daring spirit. A house, in which was a consider-

able quantity of gunpowder, took fire; and while every one else was afraid to approach, he went alone into the burning house and brought out all the powder. He was afterwards sent to the grammar school at Truro, of which the Rev. Mr. Conon was head master, under whom he made a satisfactory progress, and before he left could readily construe Virgil. As it was then the general practice in schools to allow the boys to settle their own disputes, the fearlessness of his character, and a strength beyond his years, enabled him to maintain a very respectable position among his school-fellows. At length, having inflicted upon some opponent a more severe punishment than was usual in juvenile combats, the fact came under the cognizance of the master, and to escape a threatened flogging, he ran away. He told his elder brother, who was now obliged to act as head of the family, that he would not return to school to be flogged for fighting, but would go to sea directly. Happily, his inclinations were indulged, though his grandfather, who wished him to be placed in a merchant's office, strongly opposed the step. "So, sir," said the old gentleman, when the boy came with his brothers to take a farewell dinner with him, "they are going to send you to sea. Do you

know that you may be answerable for every enemy you kill? and, if I can read your character, you will kill a great many!" "Well, grandpapa," replied young Pellew, "and if I do not kill them, they'll kill me!"

He entered the navy towards the end of 1770, in the Juno, Captain Stott, which was sent to the Falkland Islands, in consequence of the forcible seizure of them by a Spanish squadron. It is remarkable that this paltry dispute, which might be almost forgotten but for the virulent invective of "Junius," and the masterly defence of the Government by Dr. Johnson, should have given to the navy two such officers as Nelson and Pellew; neither of whom might otherwise have found an opportunity to join the service until they were too old, in the five years of peace which followed. After the Juno had been paid off, Captain Stott was appointed to the Alarm, in which Mr. Pellew followed him to the Mediterranean, where an unpleasant difference with his commander made him leave the ship. Captain Stott, who had been a boatswain with Boscawen, was an excellent seaman, but unfortunately retained some habits not suited to his present rank. He kept a mistress on board. Among the midshipmen was a boy named Frank Cole, who was

three years younger than Mr. Pellew, but had entered on board the Juno at the same time. Mr. Pellew was warmly attached to him. The woman had some pet fowls, which were allowed to fly about; and one day, when the ship was at Marseilles, and the captain absent, one of them was driven off the quarter-deck by young Cole, which led to great abuse from the woman, and a sharp reply from the boy. When the captain returned, he became so much enraged by her representations, that he not only reprimanded the youngster severely for what he termed his insolence, but so far forgot himself as to give him a blow. This was not to be borne, and having consulted his friend Pellew, he applied for his discharge. Captain Stott ordered a boat immediately, for the purpose, as he said, of turning him on shore. Pellew instantly went to the captain, and said, "If Frank Cole is to be turned out of the ship, I hope, sir, you will turn me out too." Their spirited conduct attracted the notice of the two lieutenants, Keppel and Lord Hugh Seymour, and laid the foundation of a friendship which continued through life: and Lord Hugh Seymour, finding that the boys had no money, very kindly gave them an order on his agent at Marseilles. Captain Stott afterwards tried to induce them to

return, but not succeeding, he gave them the highest testimonials of their ability and desert, saying that he believed they would become an honour to the service. Mr. Pellew found a master of a merchant vessel on shore, who had known his family at Dover, and now offered to take him to Lisbon, but declined to accommodate a second passenger. Mr. Pellew pleaded so earnestly for his young friend, and so positively refused to leave him, that the other at length consented to give them both a passage. From Lisbon they reached Falmouth in one of the packets. Little did he think that he was next to see Marseilles as a commander-in-chief, and one day to save it from destruction. Twelve years after, when he had become a post-captain, and was in command of the Winchelsea, he took under his protection a son of Captain Stott, who was then dead, and did every thing in his power to promote the young man's interests.

It was now his happiness to sail in the Blonde, with Captain Pownoll, an officer who had been trained and brought forward by Admiral Boscawen, and whose character was among the highest in the service. Captain Pownoll soon appreciated the merit and promise of his midshipman, who returned his kindness with almost the

affection of a son. Such mutual confidence and attachment between a captain and his midshipman has very rarely been met with; and it was peculiarly fortunate for Mr. Pellew, that his quick and determined character, which, with a judgment not yet matured by experience, might have carried him into mistakes, found a guide so kind and judicious as Captain Pownoll.

And here it will not be uninteresting to observe how far the influence of a great commander may extend. St. Vincent and Pownoll, who were brought up under Boscawen, and received their lieutenants' commissions from him, contributed materially to form a Nelson and an Exmouth; each the founder of a school of officers, whose model is the character of their chief, and their example his successes.

Active beyond his companions, Mr. Pellew did the ship's duty with a smartness which none of them could equal; and as every one takes pleasure where he excels, he had soon become a thorough seaman. At the same time, the buoyancy of youth, and a naturally playful disposition, led him continually into feats of more than common daring. In the spring of 1775, General Burgoyne took his passage to America in the Blonde, and when he came alongside, the yards were manned

to receive him. Looking up, he was surprised to see a midshipman on the yard-arm standing on his head. Captain Pownoll, who was at his side, soon quieted his apprehensions, by assuring him that it was only one of the usual frolics of young Pellew, and that the General might make himself quite at ease for his safety, for that if he should fall, he would only go under the ship's bottom, and come up on the other side. What on this occasion was probably spoken but in jest, was afterwards more than realized; for he actually sprang from the fore-yard of the Blonde, while she was going fast through the water, and saved a man who had fallen overboard. Captain Pownoll reproached him for his rashness, but he shed tears when he spoke of it to the officers, and declared that Pellew was a noble fellow.

The revolt of the American colonies, which rose in the course of this year to the importance of a national war, was soon to furnish him with objects worthy of his skill and courage. On the 10th of May the Americans surprised Ticonderoga, and having secured the command of Lake Champlain by a strong squadron, were enabled to prosecute offensive operations against Canada. Sir Guy Carleton, the governor and commander-in-chief of that province, had very inadequate means to

defend it. The enemy took Montreal, and in the beginning of December laid siege to Quebec, which they expected to find an easy conquest; but their commander, General Montgomery, who had summoned Sir Guy Carleton in the most arrogant and threatening style, was killed on the 31st, in attempting to storm the place, and his troops were repulsed. The siege, however, was continued by Arnold, till Commodore Sir Charles Douglas, in the Isis, with two other ships under his orders, forced his way through the ice, much before the season at which the river is usually open. His appearance drove the besiegers to a hasty flight, in which they suffered such extreme privations, especially their sick and wounded, that General Carleton most humanely issued a proclamation, in which he ordered them to be treated as fellow-creatures in distress; and encouraged them to claim the offered hospitality, by assuring them that they should be unconditionally liberated as soon as they were able to return home. At the same time, with an energy equal to his humanity, he hastened to complete the deliverance of the province. Other men of war, with transports, brought him reinforcements in the spring, and he was thus enabled, after giving the enemy a final defeat at Trois Rivières,

in June, to take measures for wresting from them the command of Lake Champlain; an object essential to the security of Canada, as well as to prosecuting hostilities with effect against the New England States.

Lake Champlain is situated to the N. E. of Ontario. It is nearly two hundred miles long, and eighteen miles across at the widest part; but the average breadth does not exceed five. At Crown Point it contracts suddenly to a mere channel, and thus continues for ten or twelve miles, to its southern extremity at Ticonderoga. Here it receives the waters from a small lake to the southward, Lake George. It discharges itself into the St. Lawrence, a few miles below Montreal, by the river Chamblee, or Sorel; but the navigation of this river, like that of the communication from Lake George, is interrupted by shoals and rapids. From the head of Lake George, the distance to the Hudson is only six or eight miles; and thus there is a water frontier, with only this short interruption, from the St. Lawrence to New York, navigable for vessels of burden for four-fifths of its length, and for bateaux nearly all the way. The command of this line would enable the northern and southern armies to co-operate effectually; to press on the New England

States along their whole border; to cut off all communication between them and the rest of the Union, and to prevent any hostile attempt on Canada.

Measures were promptly taken to secure this important object. Detachments from the King's ships at Quebec, with volunteers from the transports, and a corps of artillery, in all, nearly 700 men, were sent across to the Lake, there to construct, with timber felled by themselves, and in the presence of a superior enemy, the vessels in which they were to meet him. A party joined from the Blonde, under Lieutenant Dacres, with Mr. Brown, one of the midshipmen. It was at first intended to keep Mr. Pellew with the ship; but he appeared so much disappointed when he learnt that he was not to be of the party, that Captain Pownoll allowed him to go.

The season was already so far advanced, that it would have been a creditable service only to complete the preparations for the next campaign; but the zeal and exertions of the officers and men surpassed all calculation. They got across to the Lake thirty long-boats, many large flat-bottomed boats, a vast number of bateaux, and a gondola of thirty tons, carrying them over land, or dragging them up the rapids. The keel and floor-tim-

bers of the Inflexible, a ship of three hundred tons, which had been laid at Quebec, were taken to pieces, and carried over to St. John's, on the Lake, where a dockyard was established, under the superintendence of Lieutenant Schanck, an officer of extraordinary mechanical ingenuity.—Here, on the morning of the 2d of September, the Inflexible was again laid down, and by sunset, all her former parts were put together, and a considerable quantity of additional timbers were prepared for her. The progress of the work was like magic. Trees growing in the forest in the morning, would form part of the ship before night. She was launched in twenty-eight days from laying her keel, and sailed next evening, armed with eighteen twelve-pounders, and fully equipped for service. Two schooners, the Maria, and the Carleton; the Loyal Convert, gondola; the Thunder, a kind of flat-bottomed raft, carrying twelve heavy guns and two howitzers; and twenty-four boats, armed each with a field-piece, or carriage-gun, formed, with the Inflexible, a force superior to that of the enemy, where but a few days before, the British had scarcely a boat upon the waters. No time was now lost in seeking the enemy, and Sir Guy Carleton himself embarked with the squadron. Captain Pringle,

as commodore, sailed with Lieutenant Schanck, in the Inflexible; and Lieutenant Dacres, with Mr. Pellew and Mr. Brown, were appointed to the Carleton.

On the 11th of October the enemy were discovered, drawn up in a strong line across the passage between Valicour, one of the numerous islands on the Lake, and the Western land; and so well concealed by the island, that the squadron had nearly passed without observing them. They had fifteen vessels, carrying ninety-six guns, fourteen of which were eighteen-pounders (eight of them traversing), and twenty-three twelves. General Arnold commanded. The Carleton, being nearest to the enemy, attacked at once, without waiting for the rest of the squadron, though her force was only twelve six-pounders. Unfortunately, owing to the state of the wind, no other vessel could come to her assistance, and she was obliged to engage the whole force of the enemy single-handed. Sir Guy Carleton saw her desperate position with extreme anxiety, but it was found impossible to bring up the squadron, and he could only send in the artillery-boats to support her. Meantime she was suffering most severely. Very early in the action Mr. Brown lost an arm; and soon after Lieutenant Dacres fell,

severely wounded and senseless. He would have been thrown overboard as dead, but for the interference of Mr. Pellew, who now succeeded to the command. He maintained the unequal contest till Captain Pringle, baffled in all his efforts to bring up the squadron, made the signal of recall; which the Carleton, with two feet water in her hold, and half her crew killed and wounded, was not in a condition to obey. In attempting to go about, being at the time near the shore, which was covered with the enemy's marksmen, she hung in stays, and Mr. Pellew, not regarding the danger of making himself so conspicuous, sprang out on the bowsprit to push the jib over. The artillery-boats now took her in tow, while the enemy maintained a very heavy fire, being enabled to bear their guns upon her with more effect, as she increased her distance. A shot cut the tow-rope, and Mr. Pellew ordered some one to go and secure it; but seeing all hesitate, for indeed it appeared a death-service, he ran forward and did it himself. The Carleton was then towed out of gun-shot, having, with the assistance of the artillery-boats, sunk the Boston, a gondola, carrying an eighteen-pounder and two twelves; and burnt the Royal Savage, of twelve guns, the largest of the enemy's schooners.

Arnold escaped in the night. The squadron followed through the next day, and on the morning of the 13th overtook him, within a few leagues of Crown Point. After a running fight of two hours, the four headmost vessels of the enemy succeeded in reaching Crown Point, and sheltering themselves in the narrow part of the Lake beyond it. Two others, the Washington and Jersey, were taken; and the rest were run on shore and burnt by their own crews. The enemy then set fire to their works on Crown Point, and abandoned it.

The Carleton's action on the 11th, which certainly was never surpassed for gallantry and conduct, obtained for her crew the credit they so well deserved. Lieutenant Dacres, who recovered sufficiently to go home with the despatches, received promotion as soon as he arrived in England, and was honoured with a personal interview with the king. He rose to be a Vice-admiral. How Mr. Pellew's services in this, his first action, were appreciated by his superior officers, is best told in their own words. In a few days, Sir Charles Douglas, the senior officer at Quebec, to whose command all the Lake service was subordinate, sent him the following letter:—

"Isis, Quebec, Oct. 30, 1776.

"SIR—The account I have received of your behaviour on board the Carleton, in the different actions on the Lakes, gives me the warmest satisfaction, and I shall not fail to represent it in the strongest terms to the Earl of Sandwich and my Lord Howe, and recommend you as deserving a commission for your gallantry; and as Lieutenant Dacres, your late commander, will no doubt obtain rank for his conduct, when he reaches England, I am desired by General Sir Guy Carleton to give you the command of the schooner in which you have so bravely done your duty.

CHARLES DOUGLAS."

The report of Sir Charles Douglas obtained for Mr. Pellew the following letter from the commander-in-chief:—

"Eagle, New York, Dec. 20, 1776.

"SIR—The account I have heard of your gallant behaviour from Captain Charles Douglas, of H. M. S. Isis, in the different actions on Lake Champlain, gives me much satisfaction, and I shall receive pleasure in giving you a lieutenant's commission, whenever you may reach New York. HOWE."

It is, perhaps, a singular occurrence for a midshipman to be honoured with a letter from the First Lord of the Admiralty, but the service itself was so important, that it probably attracted more than common notice to every act of gallantry connected with it; and Captain Pownoll strengthened Sir Charles Douglas's report of his young officer's conduct, by a communication of his own. Their joint eulogy obtained for Mr. Pellew the following letter from Lord Sandwich:

"Admiralty Office, London, Jan. 5, 1777.

"SIR—You have been spoken of to me by Sir Charles Douglas and Captain Philemon Pownoll, for your good conduct in the various services upon Lake Champlain, in so handsome a manner, that I shall receive pleasure in promoting you to the rank of a lieutenant whenever you come to England; but it is impossible to send you a commission where you now are, it being out of the jurisdiction of the Admiralty.

SANDWICH."

Sir Guy Carleton remained at Crown Point as long as the season would permit. He employed Mr. Pellew on the narrow inlet which extends from Crown Point to Ticonderoga, along which his proposed operations were to be conducted;

and Mr. Pellew attended to his charge with a vigilance and activity which nothing could evade. On one occasion, the American Commander-in-chief, Arnold, most narrowly escaped becoming his prisoner. Having ventured upon the Lake in a boat, he was observed, and chased so closely by Mr. Pellew, that when he reached the shore and ran off, he left his stock and buckle in the boat behind him. This is still preserved by Mr. Pellew's elder brother, to whom Arnold's son, not many years ago, confirmed the particulars of his father's escape. The General, seeing that his men were panic-struck when they found themselves chased, encouraged them to exertion by the assurance that the pursuers were not enemies, but only a boat endeavouring to out-row them. Pulling off his stock, and seizing an oar, he urged them not to allow themselves to be beaten, and promised them a bottle of rum each, if they gained the shore first. Well had it been for Arnold; happy for the gallant young officer who was the victim of his conduct; and perhaps, on so small a contingency may the fate of a campaign depend, happy for the British army, to whose misfortunes in the following year his skill and courage so materially contributed, had the fortune of the chace been different.

As the inhabitants were divided in political sentiments, the officers were prepared to receive many attentions. A party was invited to spend an afternoon with some young ladies in the neighbourhood, and they were on the way to keep their engagement, when Mr. Pellew, who was among them, stopped, and said to his companions, "We are doing a very foolish thing: I shall turn back, and I advise you all to do the same." They hesitated, but at length returned with him; and afterwards learnt that their Delilahs had posted a party of soldiers to make them prisoners.

At length Sir Guy Carleton, having satisfied himself that Ticonderoga was too strong to be attacked with his present force at that advanced season, re-embarked the troops, and returned to Canada. He there exerted himself through the winter in making preparations for the ensuing campaign, and he had almost completed them, when the command of the army was taken from him, and given to officers who had been serving under his orders. Though his success had surpassed the utmost hopes of his Country, and his great local knowledge and experience claimed the confidence of the British Government, he was not consulted on the expedition they had planned, and of which the very details were so far settled

in the cabinet, that little was left to the discretion of the unfortunate General who was to conduct it. He felt like an officer on the occasion, and resigned the government of Canada; but he acted like an Englishman, and though he disapproved materially of some parts of the plan, he omitted no exertion which might contribute to its success.

The army devoted to an expedition thus inauspiciously commenced, was composed of 7,000 regular troops, of whom 3,200 were Germans; a corps of artillery, 2,000 Canadians, and 1000 savages. Sir Guy Carleton knew too well the ferocious and uncertain character of the Indians to trust them; but the Government at home entertained a very different opinion; and it was, perhaps, the chief motive for their conduct towards him, that he had only amused and kept them quiet, instead of calling them into active service. Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, an officer of acknowledged skill, had been selected for the command, assisted by Major-Generals Phillips and Reidesel, and Brigadiers Frazer, Powell, Hamilton, and Specht.

Mr. Pellew was attached to the army, with the command of a party of seamen, and during its advance, was again actively employed on the Lake. While on this service, he narrowly escaped a

calamity which would have clouded all his future life. His youngest brother had come out from England to join the army; and being appointed aide-du-camp to General Phillips, though only seventeen years of age, he was sent down the Lake in charge of the General's baggage. He was told that he had nothing to fear from the enemy, but that he would probably meet his brother; and, with the unthinking sportiveness of youth, as he knew that he was not expected, he determined to surprise him. Accordingly he fell in with him in the night, and when hailed, answered, "A friend!" "What friend," exclaimed his brother; "tell who you are, or I'll shoot you." "What! do not you know me?" "No!" said the other, presenting a pistol. "Your brother, John!"

On the 21st of June, the army being encamped on the western side of the Lake, and a little to the north of Crown Point, General Burgoyne made a war-feast for the savages, and addressed them in a speech which enforced every motive calculated to restrain their ferocity. After a short stay at Crown Point, the troops advanced along both sides of the Lake, accompanied by the squadron under Lieutenant Schanck; and on the 2d of July, arrived before Ticonderoga, then garrisoned by General St. Clair, with nearly 5000 men.

Ticonderoga possessed great natural advantages. It was protected on three sides by the water, with very rocky shores; and on the fourth, partly by a morass, and where that failed, by a strong breast-work. It was, indeed, commanded by a neighbouring height, Sugar Hill, which the Americans had neglected to secure, because their force was insufficient to man the extensive works they already occupied; but they presumed that its almost inaccessible character would prevent the British from attempting to scale it. Opposite Ticonderoga they had fortified a high conical hill, Mount Independence, and connected it with the fort by a bridge formed of twenty-two sunken piers, united by large floats, which were secured in the strongest manner with very stout chains and rivets. This was again protected by a massy boom. The Americans had been employed for ten months in giving to these works the utmost possible strength and solidity.

On the 5th, the British had nearly completed their preparations, and General Phillips had carried a road almost to the top of Sugar Hill, when General St. Clair determined to evacuate the fort. Accordingly he embarked his stores and baggage in more than two hundred bateaux, and sent them away that night under convoy of five

armed gallies to Skenesborough, a town about eight miles distant, at the head of a small inlet, South Bay, which branches off from the Lake at Ticonderoga. The troops marched to the same place, leaving more than a hundred guns behind them.

Daylight showed the flight of the enemy. Reidesel and Frazer immediately followed in pursuit, while Burgoyne embarked the rest of the army on board the squadron. The boom and bridge, which had cost so many months of labour to complete, were presently cut through by the sailors and artificers. The squadron passed at nine o'clock, and at three came up with the enemy near Skenesborough Falls. The gallies defended themselves against the advanced division of gun-boats; but as soon as the larger vessels were seen approaching, two of them surrendered, and the enemy set fire to the others, and to all their bateaux and stores.

Reidesel and Frazer pursued the enemy all day. Frazer's division lay that night under arms, and at five o'clock next morning overtook a strong body under Colonel Francis, and attacked them at once, not waiting for Reidesel. The enemy held their ground for a time, but fled as soon as

Reidesel came up, losing their commander, and nearly 1000 men in killed, wounded, and taken.

Colonel Hill marched to intercept the fugitives along Wood Creek, a small river which rises in the high grounds near the Hudson, and precipitates itself over a fall into South Bay at Skenesborough. He was attacked by a very superior force, but after three hours of severe fighting, he repulsed the enemy with much loss. Setting fire to Fort Anne, they fled across to the Hudson, where, with the fugitives from the other battle, and their commander, General St. Clair, they joined the troops at Fort Edward.

It was now easy for General Burgoyne to return to Ticonderoga, and thence to cross Lake George to the fort of the same name at the head of it. From this place there was a wagon road to Fort Edward on the Hudson, only eighteen miles distant. But he feared that a retrograde movement might check the enthusiasm of the army, now elated with their rapid career of victory; and under-rating the difficulties of the country, and too much despising an enemy who had been so easily dispersed, he determined to ascend Wood Creek as far as Fort Anne, where the bateaux navigation terminated, and whence

the direct distance to the Hudson is shorter. He waited, therefore, a few days near Skenesborough for his tents, baggage, and provisions; employing himself, in the mean time, in clearing the navigation of Wood Creek, while his people at Ticonderoga were transporting the stores and artillery over the portages to Lake George.

The enemy offered little resistance in the advance to Fort Edward, though slight skirmishing took place daily; but the difficulties of the country were almost insurmountable. So broken was it by creeks and morasses, that it became necessary to construct more than forty bridges and causeways, one of them over a morass two miles long. The enemy had created every possible obstruction by felling trees across the paths, and destroying the communications. Scarcely could the army effect an advance equal to a mile in a day, and it was the end of July before it arrived on the Hudson.

On the approach of the British, the enemy quitted Fort Edward, and retreated to Saratoga. All kinds of provisions and stores had already reached Fort George; but the means of transport were lamentably deficient, and the impossibility of bringing up supplies compelled the army to a fatal inaction. Not more than a third of the

draft horses had arrived, and only fifty teams of oxen had been collected; which, over the bad roads, rendered more difficult by heavy rains, could bring little more than was required for the daily consumption of the army. On the 15th of August, after a fortnight's incessant exertion, there were only four days' provisions in store.

While General Burgoyne was thus compelled to remain inactive, the enemy was daily becoming stronger. The conduct of the savages had roused the whole country; and the British bore the odium of excesses which the General could not prevent, and dared not punish. The loyalists could not remain near the army, for they were almost equally exposed to the cruelties of the savages, who spared neither age nor sex. Others, who would willingly have staid at home, took arms, for they felt that their only safety was to join the camp. Thus the British were left without a friend in the country, while the American commanders, who took every advantage of atrocities, which indeed needed no exaggeration, were soon at the head of a force more numerous and formidable than the army which had been dispersed.

General Arnold was sent to command the army at Saratoga. He drew it back to Stillwater, a

township about twelve miles down the Hudson, that he might check Colonel St. Leger, who, with 700 or 800 men, was besieging Fort Stanwix, on the Mohawk, and had given a severe defeat to a party sent to relieve it. General Burgoyne was anxious to push forward and join St. Leger, that he might compel the enemy either to give battle at a disadvantage, or to leave him an open passage to Albany. But as he was destitute of supplies, and his army was too weak to maintain a communication with Fort George when it should have advanced so far to the southward, he sent Colonel Baum to surprise Bennington, a town about twenty miles east of the Hudson, where the enemy had a large magazine of corn and cattle. At the same time he moved the army down the east bank of the Hudson till he arrived opposite Saratoga, where he threw a bridge of rafts over the river, and crossed an advanced corps.

Colonel Baum, finding the enemy at Bennington too strong to be attacked, encamped about four miles off, and waited for reinforcements. Colonel Breyman pushed forward to support him on the 15th of August, but the state of the roads prevented him from arriving till the following afternoon. The enemy, who were informed of every movement, had overpowered Colonel Baum

that morning; and when Breyman reached the place, he was attacked on all sides. His troops charged with success, and drove the enemy from two or three posts; but ammunition falling short, he was at length compelled to retreat. About five hundred men were lost in these actions; and a still more fatal effect of them was the confidence which a first success imparted to the enemy.

St. Leger was soon obliged to retire from before Fort Stanwix. The increasing strength of the American army, and the arrival of General Gates to assume the chief command, enabled Arnold to march against him with two thousand men. Pushing on with nine hundred of them by forced marches, he arrived on the 24th; but St. Leger had retreated two days before. The savages, who had heard of the approaching reinforcement, threatened to desert him if he remained, and even murdered the British stragglers during the retreat.

Provisions for thirty days were at length collected; but more than two months had been consumed in forcing a way through almost impassable woods and morasses in the worst of weather, and in vexatious inaction from deficiency of means to advance; service far more destructive to an

army than severe fighting. A heavy swell caused by the rains had carried away the bridge, but Mr. Pellew constructed another, by which the army crossed to Saratoga. The General would afterwards rally him as the cause of their subsequent misfortunes, by affording the means for their advance in the construction of this bridge. General Gates remained in the neighbourhood of Stillwater; and the army, advancing through a difficult country, found itself on the 19th of September very near the enemy. General Burgoyne now put himself at the head of the right wing, which was covered by the light infantry and grenadiers, under Frazer and Breyman, who moved along some high ground commanding its flank; while the left wing and artillery, under Phillips and Reidesel, kept along the road and meadows by the river side. While thus advancing, the enemy marched out of his camp, and attempted to turn the right wing, and take the British in flank. Foiled in this by the position of General Frazer, they countermarched under cover of the woods, and threw all their strength upon the left. Arnold led them on to repeated, and most determined attacks; nor were they finally repulsed till dusk, after four hours severe fighting. The victory, at least in name, remained with the British;

but the fact that the enemy could so long withstand regular troops in the open field, was decisive of the fate of the campaign.

Next morning the army took a position almost within cannon-shot of the enemy, fortifying the right wing, and covering the bateaux and hospital with the left. The position of the enemy was unassailable. The savages, whose atrocities had disgraced the success of the army, and contributed mainly to create its present difficulties, now deserted altogether; and great part of the provincials and Canadians followed their example.

Hoping that he might be relieved by a diversion from New York, Burgoyne sent advices to Sir Harry Clinton, acquainting him with his present situation, and his intention to remain till the 12th of October. Meantime, he took every precaution to secure his camp. While his army was melting away by sickness, battle, and desertion, the enemy were daily becoming stronger. They had even been enabled to send a force to the northward, which, on the 17th of September, surprised the posts on Lake George, and took an armed sloop, some gun-boats, and a great number of bateaux. They afterwards ventured to attack Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, and cannonaded them four days before they desisted.

At the beginning of October it became necessary to reduce the allowance of provisions. This and every other privation and hardship, was submitted to without a murmur; and never did an army better maintain its character than did this gallant force in its hour of extreme peril. Gratifying as it is to dwell on victories, it is a prouder thing to see a devoted band contending with unbroken spirit against odds which no valour can overcome, and circumstances which no skill may control. On the 7th, as there had been no intelligence from New York, General Burgoyne, accompanied by Phillips, Reidesel, and Frazer, made a movement to reconnoitre towards the enemy's left, with fifteen hundred men, and ten guns. They had advanced within three quarters of a mile of the enemy, when a sudden and determined attack was made upon their left, while a strong body moved to flank their right. The light infantry and part of the 24th regiment were quickly disposed to prevent the success of this movement, and cover a retreat; but the enemy, throwing an additional force upon the left, already hard pressed, it gave way, and the light infantry and 24th were obliged to hasten and support it. In this movement General Frazer

fell. The troops retreated in good order, but lost six of their guns.

Scarcely had they regained the camp, when the enemy rushed on to storm it; Arnold, as usual, distinguishing himself by the impetuous courage with which he led his men to the attack. The battle was maintained where he fought with the utmost desperation, till he fell, severely wounded, and his followers were driven back. In another part, the enemy were more successful. Colonel Breyman was killed, and the entrenchments defended by the German reserve which he commanded were carried. Night ended the battle, and left to the army the melancholy task of summing up its loss, which included several officers of distinction. Mr. Pellew had more than a common share in the calamity: his brother was among the dead.

But there is little grief for the slain when every one feels that he may lie with them to-morrow. That night the army, with the camp and baggage, moved off in admirable order to a new position on the heights above the hospital. Next morning it offered battle; but the enemy were securing their object by safer means. They pushed forward a strong body to turn the right of the British and surround them. To prevent this, the army re-

treated in the night through torrents of rain, to Saratoga. The sick and wounded were necessarily left behind.

Next morning a party was seen throwing up entrenchments on the heights beyond the army; but a demonstration being made against them, they crossed the river, and joined a force on the other side. It was now determined to retreat to Fort George, and the artificers were sent forward to repair the bridges, and open the road; but the appearance of the enemy made it necessary to recall them. The opposite bank of the river was covered with parties of the enemy, and the bateaux could no longer be protected against their attacks. Some were taken; and among others, the vessel which contained the small store of provisions. The loss of this would have deprived the army of its last hope; but Mr. Pellew, at the head of his sailors, attacked the enemy and recaptured her. To guard against such a calamity for the future, the provisions were landed. General Burgoyne acknowledged this service in the following letter:—

"DEAR SIR—It was with infinite pleasure that General Phillips and myself observed the gallantry and address with which you conducted your at-

tack upon the provision-vessel in the hands of the enemy. The gallantry of your little party was deserving of the success which attended it; and I send you my sincere thanks, together with those of the army, for the important service you have rendered them upon this occasion.

JOHN BURGOYNE.

"N. B. The vessel contained 500 barrels of provisions, of which article the army was in great want."

A retreat to Fort Edward by a night march, the troops carrying their provisions on their backs, now offered the only hope of safety; but while preparations were being made for this, it was found that the enemy had effectually provided against it, by throwing up entrenchments opposite the fords, and posting a strong body of men, well provided with artillery, on the heights between Fort Edward and Fort George. Secrecy was impossible, for the parties of the enemy were everywhere so numerous, that not a movement could be concealed.

Still hoping to be relieved from New York, the army, now reduced to three thousand five hundred effective men, of whom not two thousand were

British, lingered in their camp, where they lay always under arms, with the grape and rifle shot of the enemy falling continually around them. On the 13th they had only three days' provision remaining. A council of war was therefore held, to which General Burgoyne summoned all the principal officers. Mr. Pellew was called to attend, as commander of the brigade of seamen; and a more decisive testimony to his merits and services in the campaign could not be afforded than the unprecedented compliment of calling a midshipman, only twenty years of age, to sit in council with generals.

Mr. Pellew, as the youngest officer present, was required to offer his opinion the first. He pleaded earnestly that his own little party might not be included in the proposed capitulation, but permitted to make the best of their way back. He had never heard, he said, of sailors capitulating, and was confident he could bring them off. They would probably have escaped, and that without any reflection upon the army. Soldiers are accustomed to act only in orderly masses; but sailors, in a peculiar degree, combine, with discipline, the energy of individual enterprise. Mr. Pellew's party had acted as pioneers and artificers to the army during its advance; and

their knowledge and readiness at resources would have given them great facilities in making their way through a hostile country. But their escape would have cast a very undeserved discredit upon the army, and the proposal was properly discountenanced. Burgoyne said, what sailors could do, soldiers might do; and if the attempt were sanctioned for the one, the others must throw away their knapsacks and take their firelocks. As Mr. Pellew still clung to his proposal, for he felt confident of succeeding, the General took him aside, and having represented the impossibility of drawing off the army, convinced him of the impropriety of permitting the attempt by a small part of it.

The result of the council was a communication to General Gates, who, knowing the desperate condition of the British army, and his own irresistible superiority, must have been surprised at the gallant spirit manifested in its hopeless extremity. When he observed that the retreat of the British was cut off, he was told that the British could never admit that their retreat was cut off while they had arms in their hands; and to his proposal that the troops should pile arms within their camp, it was replied, that sooner than submit to such an indignity, they would rush on

the enemy determined to take no quarter. Terms proposed by General Burgoyne were finally acquiesced in; and as far as the American commander was concerned, they were faithfully observed, and enforced with the most considerate delicacy.

Mr. Pellew, after having shared in the attentions, and hospitality of General Gates, was sent to England by General Burgoyne with despatches, a distinction to which his services in the campaign were considered to have entitled him. At Quebec, he met his former commander, Sir Guy Carleton, whose successor had not yet arrived, and who charged him with additional despatches, and the following letter to Lord Sandwich:—

"Quebec, November 2, 1777.

"My Lord—This will be presented to your lordship by Mr. Edward Pellew, a young man to whose gallantry and merit during two severe campaigns in this country, I cannot do justice. He is just now returned to me from Saratoga, having shared the fate of that unfortunate army, and is on his way to England. I beg leave to recommend him to your lordship, as worthy of a commission in his Majesty's service, for his good conduct. Guy Carleton."

He came home in a transport, in which Major Foy was also a passenger. An enemy's cruizer chased them, and the Major, as the superior officer, was proceeding to assume the command; but Mr. Pellew told him that he was the only naval officer on board, and must himself fight the ship. The Major acquiesced; and under Mr. Pellew's command, the transport engaged, and beat off the privateer.

It is scarcely necessary to state that immediately on his arrival he received the promotion which his services had so well merited.

CHAPTER II.

THERE are circumstances which, in a few weeks or months, may give the experience of years; and when these occur in early life, they make a deep and permanent impression on the character. In the honours and misfortunes of the late campaign, its toils, and its anxieties, Mr. Pellew had very largely shared; and if rashness would have been the natural fault of a mind so daring as his, a more effectual corrective could not have been desired. The quickness with which he saw and discriminated, and the extent to which he comprehended all the bearings of a subject, gave a ready forethought, which enabled him in after-life to combine the extremes of caution and of boldness; but though this must have partly depended on natural character, he certainly owed much of it to the severe discipline of his early service.

He had now completed his twenty-first year. Tall, and with a frame of strength and symmetry,

nerved by the hardships of two severe campaigns, his personal activity and power were almost unrivalled. The spot was shown for many years at Truro, where he sprang over the gate of an inn-yard at the back of one of the hotels, when hastening across the court to assist on the sudden alarm of a fire, he found the gate fast. The consciousness of superior strength, while it made him slow to offend, enabled him to inflict suitable punishment on offenders, and some incidents of a ludicrous character are still remembered.

The water was as a natural element to him, and he often amused himself in a manner which, to one less expert, would have been attended with the utmost danger. He would sometimes go out in a boat, and overset her by carrying a press of sail. These, and similar acts of daring, must find their excuse in the spirit of a fearless youth. But he often found the advantage of that power and self-possession in the water which he derived from his early habits, in saving men who had fallen overboard, and especially in the happiest of all his services, his conduct at the Dutton. More than once, however, he nearly perished. In Portsmouth harbour, where he had upset himself in a boat, he was saved with difficulty, after remaining for a considerable time in the water. On another

occasion, he was going by himself from Falmouth to Plymouth in a small punt, fourteen feet long, when his hat was blown overboard, and he immediately threw off his clothes and swam after it, having first secured the tiller a-lee. As he was returning with his hat, the boat got way on her, and sailed some distance before she came up in the wind. He had almost reached her when she filled again, and he was thus baffled three or four times. At length, by a desperate effort, he caught the rudder, but he was so much exhausted, that it was a considerable time before he had strength to get into the boat.

The gratification felt at receiving his commission was soon forgotten, when he found himself appointed to a guard-ship. He repeatedly solicited more active employment, and at length took an opportunity to accost Lord Sandwich in the street at Portsmouth. The First Lord asked if he were the young man who had been writing him so many letters; and after a reproof for thus accosting him in the street, appointed an audience at the hotel. He there told him that he could not be employed as he wished, because he was included in the convention of Saratoga: and when Mr. Pellew pleaded that the enemy had broken the convention, Lord Sandwich replied, that was

no reason why England should do so too. At length, after every plea had been urged in vain, Mr. Pellew took out his commission, and begged that he might be allowed to return it, declaring that he would rather command a privateer, than remain inactive while the war was going on. Lord Sandwich, smiling at his ardour, desired him to put up his commission, and promised that he should not be forgotten. Soon after, he was appointed to the Licorne.

In the spring of 1779, the Licorne sailed for the Newfoundland station, under the orders of Captain Cadogan, who had lately superseded Captain Bellew, her former commander. On her passage out, she engaged two of the enemy's cruisers, and Lieutenant Pellew's conduct in the action received the praise of his captain. She returned to England in December, when he left her to join the Apollo, commanded by his excellent friend and patron Captain Pownoll, who was delighted to obtain once more the services of a follower, whom he regarded with equal pride and affection; and even removed for his sake an officer of high connexions, whose seniority would have prevented Mr. Pellew from being the first lieutenant.

Mr. Pellew was too soon deprived of this inestimable friend. On the morning of the 15th of

June, 1780, the Apollo, cruising in the North Sea, in company with some other ships, was ordered away by the senior captain in pursuit of a cutter. She had almost come up with the chase, when the Stanislaus French frigate hove in sight, and the Apollo left the cutter for a more equal opponent. She overtook and brought her to action at half-past twelve, engaging under a press of sail, for the enemy made every effort to escape to the neutral port of Ostend, which was not far distant. In an hour after the action commenced, Captain Pownoll was shot through the body. He said to his young friend, "Pellew, I know you won't give his Majesty's ship away;" and immediately died in his arms. Mr. Pellew continued the action for more than an hour longer, and drove the enemy, beaten and dismasted, on shore; but he was disappointed of his prize, which claimed protection from the neutral port. The Apollo had five killed, besides the captain, and twenty wounded. A musket ball, which had struck Captain Pownoll in a former action, was found after his death, lodged among the muscles of the chest. The Stanislaus was got off, and carried into Ostend, where, being brought to sale, she was purchased by the British government, and added to the navy.

None despond so readily as talented and sanguine young men, who are too apt to regard as irreparable the loss of any thing they had relied on for the attainment of a favourite object. Only time can show that a strong mind is not dependent upon accidental circumstances, but creates facilities for itself, as a river will make, if it do not find, a channel for its waters. But Lieutenant Pellew was too young to have learnt this lesson; and depressed as he was with grief for his patron, and disappointment at the escape of the French frigate, his prospects seemed altogether clouded. A letter which he wrote to the Earl of Sandwich on this occasion, displays all the struggle of his feelings. Circumstantial proof that every thing was done to prevent the enemy from escaping; a modest allusion to his former services; expressions of the keenest sorrow for his loss; a bitter sense of his desolate condition; with earnest appeals to every feeling of justice and sympathy, which might induce the First Lord to extend to him the patronage not always given to an unfriended claimant; yet still with anxiety to do full justice to his officers and men, are blended in this very characteristic letter. It is not certain that it was ever sent; for the copy preserved is too carefully written for a rough draft, yet

contains many corrections and considerable erasures. He was, perhaps, dissatisfied with it, and before he had determined what to send, his promotion spared him the necessity for an application. Still it is an interesting document, affording, as it does, a detailed account of the action, a sketch of his former services, and a transcript of his feelings at the time.

"My Lord—Your Lordship will receive herewith, from Admiral Drake, an account of an action fought by H. M. S. Apollo, at sea, June 15, which lasted for two hours and twenty minutes. I trust your Lordship will excuse my troubling you with a private account of the engagement, to inform you of many occurrences during the action which my public letter would not admit of. When the action began, both ships had all their sails set upon a wind, with as much wind as we could bear. The ever-to-be-lamented Captain Pownoll received a wound through his body about an hour after the action commenced, when standing by the gangway. The enemy had then suffered much, having lost the yard-arms of both his lower yards, and had no sails drawing but his foresail, main-top-gallant-sail, and mizen-topsail, the others flying about. We had engaged her to leeward, which, from the heel his ship had, prevented him

from making our rigging and sails the objects of his fire; though I am well convinced he had laid his guns down as much as possible. When I assumed the command, we had shot upon his bow. I endeavoured to get the courses hauled up, and the top-gallant-sails clewed up, neither of which we could do, as we had neither clue-garnets, bunt-lines, or leach-lines left. However, we got the top-gallant-sails down, with most of the stay-sails, and the mizen-topsail aback; but finding we still outsailed him, I had no other method left but that of sheering across his hawse, first on one bow, then on the other, raking him as we crossed, always having in view the retarding his way, by obliging him either to receive us athwart his bowsprit, in which case we should have turned his head off shore, or to sheer as we did. He, foreseeing our intention, did so; but never lost sight of gaining the shore. In this situation we had continued for a considerable time. His bowsprit had been at two different times over our quarter-deck, but never so far forward as to enable us to secure him. All this time we were approaching the shore, and we were then, I am certain, within two miles of it. I had been cautioned by the master, whose abilities and great assistance I must ever gratefully remember, more than

once, of the shoal water, and I had repeatedly called for and sent after the pilot; and I am sorry to inform your Lordship he did not appear. Thus situated, in three and a half fathoms water, and steering towards danger, there was no time to hesitate; and, with the advice of the master, I wore, and brought to under the mizen, with her head off shore, until we could get the courses and other sails taken in, not having then a brace or bowline left, and being fully determined to renew the action in a few minutes. We had scarcely wore, when his foremast, main-top-mast, main-yard, and main-top fell, leaving his mainmast without rigging; and the ship at the same time took a large heel, which made us all conclude she had struck the ground. It was then half-ebb, and I firmly believe, had we pursued him, in less than ten minutes we must have run a-ground. She had fired a gun to leeward, seemingly to claim the protection of the port, which was answered by three from the garrison. I was at this time preparing to wear again, to anchor alongside him; but Mr. Unwin, the purser, bringing me some orders found in Captain Pownoll's pocket, among which was one relative to the observance of neutrality, I did not think myself justified in renewing the attack. I therefore continued lying to, to

repair our damages. Our masts are much wounded, the rigging very much torn, and several shot under water, by which we made two feet water an hour.

"Your Lordship will, I hope, pardon me, for troubling you with the relation of private feelings. The loss of Captain Pownoll will be severely felt. The ship's company have lost a father. I have lost much more, a father and a friend united; and that friend my only one on earth. Never, my Lord, was grief more poignant than that we all feel for our adored commander. Mine is inexpressible. The friend who brought me up, and pushed me through the service, is now no more! It was ever my study, and will always be so, to pursue his glorious footsteps. How far I may succeed, I know not; but while he lived, I enjoyed the greatest blessing, that of being patronized by him. That happiness I am now deprived of, and unassisted by friends, unconnected with the great, and unsupported by the world, I must throw myself totally on your Lordship's generosity. If I have erred, it was not from the heart; for I will be bold to say, the love and honor of his Country makes no heart more warm than mine.

"And if, after a constant service, never unemployed for thirteen years, and the character I bear

with every officer with whom I have had the honour to serve; having been three years in America, and in every action on Lake Champlain, for one of which, in the Carleton, Lieutenant Dacres, our commander, received promotion; afterwards in a continued series of hard service, in that unfortunate expedition under General Burgoyne, whose thanks for my conduct I received in the course of the campaign, and whose misfortunes I shared at Saratoga, not in common with others, but increased by the melancholy sight of a dead brother, fallen in the service of his king; having then returned to England in a transport to fulfil the convention, with General Carleton's and Burgoyne's despatches, as well as General Carleton's letter, recommending me to your Lordship; and permit me to mention, my Lord, without being thought partial to my own story, my having received the thanks of Sir Charles Douglas, by letter, for my behaviour in the different actions in Canada; and having acquitted myself much to Captain Cadogan's satisfaction in action with two ships, when on our voyage to Newfoundland; and if on the present occasion, conscious of the rectitude of my conduct, I can be entitled to your Lordship's approbation, permit me to hope from your Lordship's well-known generosity, which I have already

experienced, that you will extend to me that protection which I have lost in my dear departed benefactor. I have now no friend to solicit your Lordship in my favour. I stand alone to sue for your protection, in some confidence that you will not suffer the dejected and unsupported to fall. I presume to hope forgiveness for thus intruding on your time, particularly by a memorial that comes unbacked by any other name; but believe me, my Lord, there never was an officer with whom I have sailed, who would not do much more than back this, were his ability equal to his good wishes for my promotion.

" I cannot, in justice to the officers, close this without assuring your Lordship of the great and unremitting assistance I received from Mr. Milburn, the master, on every occasion; and from Mr. Mansfield, the marine officer, who was particularly active to assist on the quarter-deck. To Mr. Bunce, second lieutenant, I am much indebted for his exertions on the main-deck, and his diligence was unremitting in distributing men where most wanted. Mr. Ritchie, master's mate, was particularly distinguished for his gallantry and activity; and the behaviour of the whole, my Lord, was such as entitles them to my warmest gratitude, and general commendation. Most of the

wounded are dangerously so, being all by cannon balls. We had three guns dismounted.

EDWARD PELLEW."

Lord Sandwich's communication to him was equally kind and prompt. On the 18th of June, only three days after the action, he wrote to him: "After most sincerely condoling with you on the loss of your much-lamented patron and friend, Captain Pownoll, whose bravery and services have done so much honour to himself and his Country, I will not delay informing you that I mean to give you immediate promotion, as a reward for your gallant and officer-like conduct."

He was made commander into an old and worn-out sloop, the Hazard, in which he was stationed on the eastern coast of Scotland. Having nothing but the emoluments of his profession, he felt the embarrassment which, to a very numerous class of officers, the outlay required by promotion and appointment so often occasions. A tradesman in London, equally known and respected by the young men from Cornwall, who were generally referred to him for the advice and assistance they required on their first coming to town, not only supplied him with uniforms, though candidly told that it was uncertain when he would be able

to pay for them, but offered a pecuniary loan; and Captain Pellew accepted a small sum which made the debt £70. In a few weeks he received £160 prize-money, and immediately sent £100 to his creditor, desiring that the balance might be given in presents to the children, or, as he expressed it, "to buy ribbons for the girls." He never afterwards employed another tradesman. Perhaps, it was the recollection of this circumstance which induced him, when he had become a commander-in-chief, to prevent his own deserving, but necessitous young officers from suffering similar embarrassments, by presenting them with a sum equal to their immediate wants when he gave them a commission.

He took command of the Hazard on the 25th of July, 1780, and paid her off in the following January, having been employed between Shields and Leith. He held his next ship for a still shorter time. On the 12th of March, 1782, he commissioned the Pelican, a French prize, and a mere shell of a vessel; so low, that he would say his servant could dress his hair from the deck while he sat in the cabin. He sailed from Plymouth on his first cruize, April 20th; and next day took a French privateer, with which he returned to port. On the 24th he sailed again,

and stood over to the French coast. On the 28th, observing several vessels at anchor in Bass Roads, he made sail towards them; upon which a brig and a lugger, of ten or twelve guns each, laid their broadsides to the entrance of the harbour. He attacked them immediately, and compelled them to run themselves on shore under a battery, which opened on the sloop. The Pelican tacked, and stood out of the harbour, returning the fire, and the same night arrived at Plymouth. Her loss was only two men wounded. A heavy shot which struck her was begged by a friend, who, in a very recent letter, makes a jocular allusion to it, and says that it is still doing service in the kitchen as a jack-weight. The action is interesting, as the first of that kind of success in which he afterwards so much distinguished himself. It was acknowledged by the First Lord in the following terms:—

"Admiralty Office, May 25, 1782.

"Sir—I am so well pleased with the account I have received of your gallant and seaman-like conduct in the sloop you command, in your spirited attack on three privateers inside the Isle of Bass, and your success in driving them all on shore, that I am induced to bestow on you the

rank of a post-captain, in the service to which your universal good character and conduct do credit: and for this purpose, I have named you to the Suffolk, and hope soon to find a frigate for you, as she is promised to a captain of long standing.

KEPPEL."

Captain Pellew thus obtained every step of rank expressly as the reward of a brilliant action in which he personally commanded; and in this respect, and in the number and extent of his services while he remained in the lower grades of his profession, he was singular, not only among his contemporaries, but perhaps in the annals of the navy.

On the 4th of June, in the absence of Captain Macbride, of the 40-gun frigate Artois, Captain Pellew assumed the temporary command of that ship, and sailed two days after to cruize on the coast of Ireland. Her master was Mr. James Bowen, so highly distinguished in the battle of the 1st of June, when he was master of the fleet, and who is now a retired commissioner, and Rear-admiral. On the 1st of July, the Artois fell in with a French frigate-built sloop, the Prince of Robego, of 22 guns, and 180 men; and after a

four hours' pursuit, and a running fight of half an hour, with the chase guns, ran alongside, and took her. Captain Pellew gladly availed himself of this opportunity to show his grateful respect to the memory of his benefactor, Captain Pownoll, by giving the agency to his brother-in-law, Mr. Justice, one of the officers of Plymouth-yard; and the plea of gratitude which he offered to his own brother, was felt to be quite conclusive. Captain Macbride wished to appoint an agent of his own; but Captain Pellew asserted his right, as the actual captor, with so much temper and firmness, that the other at length gave way. He had known Captain Pellew from early childhood, having been his father's intimate friend, and quite understood his character, of which he now expressed an opinion in language less refined than emphatic. "Confound the fellow," said he, "if he had been bred a cobbler, he would have been first in the village."

Peace left him without employment for the next four years. In 1783, he married Susan, daughter of J. Frowd, Esq. of Wiltshire; and lived for a short time at Truro. But when his brother became collector of the customs at Falmouth, he removed to the village of Flushing, which is separated from Falmouth only by a

narrow creek, and which had peculiar attractions for him from family associations.

During this period he went out in command of his brother's armed lugger, the Hawk, in search of the notorious outlaw, Wellard. Activity, indeed, was essential to his comfort; and he suffered many an anxious hour, and much desponding anticipation, before he obtained the object of his hopes. At length, in 1786, he commissioned the Winchelsea frigate for the Newfoundland station. Service in time of peace can offer little of importance; and a lapse of fifty years will generally destroy the memory of circumstances and personal traits which interested at the time; if, indeed, it should leave a survivor to chronicle them. Happily, a now surviving officer was a midshipman in the Winchelsea, and his notes of early service form a narrative, equally illustrative and interesting. It is given in his own words. In nautical affairs, nothing can equal the spirit and freshness of a seaman's description:—

"I joined the Winchelsea under Captain Edward Pellew's command in 1786, recommended to him by a friend, who told me, 'You are going to serve under a most gallant and active officer, and one of the best seamen in the navy, who, if

he live, must one day be at the head of his profession. Make a friend of him by your good conduct, and you will do well.' The Winchelsea was manned with good seamen, with scarcely a landsman on board; and the first lieutenant, senior master's mate, and boatswain, were all excellent practical seamen; so that the midshipmen and youngsters, to the number of nearly thirty, could not be in a better situation for obtaining a knowledge of practical seamanship. We soon found that the activity of our captain would not allow us an idle hour, and there was so much kindness of heart, and cheerfulness of manner, blended with daring exertion in the performance of his duties, that we were all happy to imitate his example to the best of our abilities. In the course of our passage to Newfoundland we encountered much blowing weather, and at all hours of the day or night, whenever there was exertion required aloft, to preserve a sail, or a mast, the captain was foremost at the work, apparently as a mere matter of amusement; and there was not a man in the ship who could equal him in personal activity. He appeared to play amongst the elements in the hardest storms, and the confidence this gave to those under his command, on many occasions, is not to be described.

" The reduced peace complement of the crew made it necessary that they should work watch-and-watch, and one part of his system was, that the watch on deck, assisted by the idlers, should be in the habit of making themselves equal to every call of duty, without trespassing on the rest of those whose turn it was to be below. I remember relieving the deck one night after eight o'clock, when the captain was carrying on the duty, and shortening sail upon the quick approach of a severe gale, and being an old sailor for my age, being then sixteen, he ordered me to the mizentop, to close reef and furl the mizen-topsail; and this being done, from the increase of the gale, we had before twelve o'clock to take in successively every reef, furl most of the sails, and strike the topgallant-masts and other spars, to make the ship snug; the midshipmen being on the yards as well as the men, and the captain, when the gale became severe, at their elbow. In close reefing the main-topsail, there was much difficulty in clewing up the sail for the purpose of making it quiet, and the captain issued his orders accordingly from the quarter-deck, and sent us aloft. On gaining the topsail-yard, the most active and daring of our party hesitated to go out upon it, as the sail was flapping about violently, making it a service of

great danger. A voice was heard amidst the roaring of the gale from the extreme end of the yard-arm, calling upon us to exert ourselves to save the sail, which would otherwise beat to pieces. A man said, 'Why, that's the captain—how the —— did he get there!' The fact was, that the instant he had given us orders to go aloft, he laid down his speaking trumpet, and clambered like a cat by the rigging over the backs of the seamen, and before they reached the maintop, he was at the topmast-head, and from thence by the topsail-lift, a single rope, he reached the situation he was in. I could mention numberless instances of this kind, but will proceed to relate a few others fresh in my recollection. On our arrival at St. John's, Newfoundland, we anchored in the narrow entrance in the evening; and many officers would have been satisfied to have remained there until the morning, as we could reach our anchorage only by the tedious and laborious operation of laying out anchors, and warping; but we saw that the captain was bent upon exertion, and we went heartily to work. In the course of our progress against a strong wind, the ship had been warped up to the chain rock, and it became necessary to cast off the hawser attached to it, but all the boats were employed in laying out an

anchor and warps elsewhere. The captain called to the men on the forecastle, and desired 'some active fellow to go down by the hawser, and cast it off,' at the same time saying that a boat would soon be there to bring him on board again. The smartest seamen in the ship declined the attempt. In an instant the captain was seen clinging to the hawser, and proceeding to the rock; the hawser was cast off, and to the astonishment of every one, he swang himself to the side of the ship by the same means, mounted the ship's side, and was again directing the duty going on. After nine hours' laborious and incessant exertion, the ship was anchored near the Commodore in St. John's harbour, before daylight; and as a salute had been prepared in the hope of seeing the Commodore's pendant before sunset on the evening before, the captain remained on deck with the gunner only to assist him. The rest of the officers and men, being excessively fatigued, had been sent below to rest; and I was not singular in being unconscious of the firing, although my hammock hung close to the open hatchway, and immediately under the deck that the guns were fired from.

"The strong mind and fertile genius of our commander kept the young mids, in particular,

in constant employment. Besides, that some of the number were stationed on every yard in the ship, the mizen-mast from the deck to the truck was entirely managed in the sails and rigging by the midshipmen, who were not such dandies as to despise the tar-bucket, or even volunteering the laborious task of working the oars of one of the boats in harbour. They were all emulous to leave nothing undone to make themselves practical seamen, and they all found the advantage of such examples as they had then before them, many years afterwards, at the breaking out of the revolutionary war.

"In the course of this year we visited every harbour, nook, and corner, on the east coast of Newfoundland, that the ship could be squeezed into; and the seamanship displayed by the captain, in working the ship in some most difficult cases, was not lost upon the officers and crew. With respect to his personal activity, I have often heard the most active seamen, when doubting the possibility of doing what he ordered to be done finish by saying, 'Well, he never orders us to do what he won't do himself;' and they often remarked, 'Blow high, blow low, he knows to an inch what the ship can do, and he can almost make her speak.' On our return from Newfoundland,

he applied to cruise after smugglers in the winter months, instead of being kept idle in harbour until the season opened for visiting Newfoundland again; but this did not come within the scope of the management of that day. In 1787, we returned to our station at Newfoundland. The summers there are very hot, and on the birthday of the good old king, George III., the 4th of June, the ship's company obtained permission to bathe. The ship was at anchor in St. John's harbour, and the captain had prepared himself for the public dinner at the Governor's by dressing in his full uniform, and mounted the deck to step into his barge, which was ready to take him ashore. The gambols and antics of the men in the water caught his attention, and he stepped on one of the guns to look at them; when a lad, a servant to one of the officers, who was standing on the ship's side near to him, said, 'I'll have a good swim by-and-by, too.' 'The sooner the better,' said the captain, and tipped him into the water. He saw in an instant that the lad could not swim, and quick as thought he dashed overboard in his full dress uniform, with a rope in one hand, which he made fast to the lad, who was soon on board again, without any injury, though a little frightened, but which did not prevent his soon enjoying the

ludicrous finish of the captain's frolic. The lad's boasting expression gave an idea that he was a good swimmer, and I believe if ever the captain was frightened, it was when he saw the struggles in the water: but his self-possession and activity did not forsake him, and no one enjoyed the laugh against himself more than he did when the danger was over.

"This season at Newfoundland was passed in the same course of active exertion as the former one. We sailed for Cadiz and Lisbon in October, for the purpose of receiving any remittances in bullion to England, which the British merchants might have ready on our arrival. We had light winds and fine weather after making the coast of Portugal. On one remarkably fine day, when the ship was stealing through the water under the influence of a gentle breeze, the people were all below at their dinners, and scarcely a person left on deck but officers, of whom the captain was one. Two little ship-boys had been induced, by the fineness of the weather, to run up from below the moment they had dined, and were at play on the spare anchor to leeward, which overhangs the side of the ship. One of them fell overboard, which was seen from the quarter-deck, and the order was given to luff the ship into the wind. In

an instant the officers were over the side; but it was the captain who, grasping a rope firmly with one hand, let himself down to the water's edge, and catching hold of the poor boy's jacket as he floated past, he saved his life in as little time as I have taken to mention it. There was not a rope touched, or a sail altered in doing this, and the people below knew not of the accident until they came on deck when their dinner was over.

"In every instance when a life was in danger, he was instant to peril his own for its preservation; and I could fill pages, if it were necessary to notice any but those which I was so fortunate as to witness."

After the Winchelsea had been paid off in 1789, Captain Pellew was appointed to the Salisbury, 50, bearing the flag of Vice-Admiral Milbanke, on the Newfoundland station; in which he served till 1791. His brother Israel became the first lieutenant, and was promoted from her. While in this ship, he was one day required to decide on the case of a seaman belonging to a merchant-vessel in the harbour, who came on board to complain that his captain had punished him for a theft. Finding that the captain had acted illegally, though the man had really deserved a far more

severe punishment, he said to the complainant, "You have done quite right in coming here: your captain had no business to punish you as he has done, and that he may learn to be more cautious in future, we order him to be fined—a shilling!" The man turned to leave the cabin, much disappointed at the award; but how was his surprise increased, when Captain Pellew said, "Stop, sir; we must now try you for the theft." The fact, which had been already admitted, allowed of no defence; and before the man left the ship, he was deservedly brought to the gangway.

The admiral's secretary, Mr. Graham, afterwards the well-known police magistrate, related this circumstance to Lord Thurlow. The chancellor relaxed his iron features, and throwing himself back in his chair in a burst of laughter, exclaimed, "Well, if that is not law, it is at least justice. Captain Pellew ought to have been a judge."

CHAPTER III.

RICH only in reputation, and with an increasing family, Captain Pellew felt the pressure of narrow circumstances; and with the mistake so often made by naval officers, he thought to improve them by farming. There was a moderately large farm, Treverry, within a few miles of Falmouth, which had descended in the family to his elder brother, and he proposed to cultivate this upon the principle of sharing the profits. His brother, though not very sanguine on the result, readily agreed to the experiment; and when in no long time, Captain Pellew complained that he found it impossible to keep the accounts so as to make a fair division, he was allowed to rent it on his own terms. It will not occasion surprise that the undertaking was anything but profitable.

Indeed, farming is almost always a very losing employment to a gentleman, and especially to a sailor. Nothing can be more incorrect than the

conclusion that education must excel, because ignorance succeeds; for success depends upon attention to a multiplicity of petty details, which inexperience will be likely to overlook, and talent may find it irksome to attend to. If the small farmer, who cultivates his little ground by the labour of his own family; and the more considerable one, who devotes to his estate skill, capital, and undivided attention, so often fail, what can he hope for, who depends upon labourers whose mistakes he cannot correct, and whose indolence, and even dishonesty, he is scarcely able to check. The failure of crops which depend for their success upon the knowledge and activity of the principal; and the necessary and constant outlay, which is great beyond the conception of a novice, may ruin even him who farms his own land, when the care of it is only a secondary object; and this it will generally be to a professional man.

The expected pleasures of farming will be likely to disappoint, even more than its profits. When the fields are waving with abundance, nothing appears more delightful than to direct the labours they require; but the enjoyments of the harvest month, when all the weary toil of preparation is forgotten, will be found a poor com-

pensation for the daily annoyances of the year. To be excelled in management by the uneducated, and over-reached by the cunning: to study systems of agriculture, to be thwarted in carrying them into effect, and when they fail, to become an object of contemptuous pity to the ignorant but successful followers of the old routine: to find that all around take advantage of his ignorance: that servants, the best with other masters, become careless and unfaithful with him; and at length to bear with bad ones, from the hopelessness of getting better: to become involved in petty disputes with low neighbours, and to be unable to avoid them except by a forbearance which encourages aggression: to find, that with all his attention and trouble, the income lags far behind the outgoings—these are among the pleasures of a gentleman farmer.

To Captain Pellew, the employment was peculiarly unsuitable. His mind, which allowed him to be happy only while it was active, could ill accommodate itself to pursuits which almost forbad exertion; and a business within the comprehension of a peasant, was not for a character which could fill, and animate with its own energy an extended sphere of action. Even now, when agriculture has become an eminently scientific

profession, it requires to make it interesting that it shall be thoroughly understood, and conducted upon a proper scale; but at that time it was commonly a mere routine of dull drudgery, and nowhere more so than in the west of Cornwall. To have an object in view, yet be unable to advance it by any exertions of his own, was to him a source of constant irritation. He was wearied with the imperceptible growth of his crops, and complained that he made his eyes ache by watching their daily progress. He was not likely to excel in occupations so entirely uncongenial. The old people in the neighbourhood of Treverry still speak with wonder of the fearlessness he displayed on different occasions, but shake their heads at his management as a farmer. They have no difficulty in explaining the secret of his fortune. While he lived at Treverry, a swarm of bees found an entrance over the porch of the house, and made a comb there for many successive years; and to this happy omen they attribute all his after success.

The offer of a command in the Russian navy gave him an opportunity to escape from his difficulties. It was recommended to him by an officer of high character, with whom he had served, and who possessed so many claims upon his confidence,

that he thought it right to strengthen his own decision by the opinion of his elder brother, before he finally refused it. His brother, who, had always encouraged his every ambitious, and every honourable feeling, and who, even at this time, confidently anticipated for him a career of high distinction, of which, indeed, his past life afforded ample promise, would not for a moment listen to his entering a foreign service. He said that every man owes his services, blood, and life, so exclusively to his own Country, that he has no right to give them to another; and he desired Captain Pellew to reflect how he would answer for it to his God, if he lost his life in a cause which had no claim upon him. These high considerations of patriotism and religion are the true ground upon which the question should rest. Deeply is it to be regretted that men of high character should have unthinkingly sanctioned by their example, what their own closer reflection might have led them to condemn. Still more is it to be deplored that deserving officers, hopeless in the present state of the navy, of promotion or employment, should be driven by their necessities to sacrifice their proudest and most cherished feelings, and to quit, for a foreign flag, the service of which they might become the strength

and ornament. War is too dreadful a calamity to be lightly incurred. Only patriotism, with all its elevating and endearing associations of country, homes, and altars, can throw a veil over its horrors, and a glory around its achievements: patriotism, which gives to victory all its splendour; sheds lustre even on defeat; and hallows the tomb of the hero, fallen amidst the regrets and admiration of his Country. But he who goes forth to fight the battles of another state, what honour can victory itself afford to him? or how shall he be excused, if he attack the allies of his own Country, whom, as such, he is bound on his allegiance to respect?

The decision of Captain Pellew on this occasion proved as fortunate as it was honourable. At the beginning of 1793, there was no appearance of hostilities; and when the French republicans put to death their King, on the 21st of January, and declared war against England twelve days after, the Government, which had made no preparation for such an event, was taken by surprise almost as much as the Country. The navy was on the peace establishment, with only sixteen thousand seamen and marines; and it became necessary in the course of the year to raise for it sixty thousand men. Mr. Pellew, whose situation at Falmouth

enabled him to obtain the earliest information, hastened to Treverry as soon as he saw that war was likely to break out, and advised his brother immediately to offer his services to the Admiralty in person. Captain Pellew, too happy in the prospect of exchanging the ploughshare for the sword, returned with him to Falmouth; and the same night was on the road to London.

He was immediately appointed to the Nymphe, of 36 guns, formerly a French frigate, which, by a striking coincidence, had been taken by boarding in the former war, after having been disabled by the loss of her wheel. He fitted her with extraordinary dispatch; but from the number of ships commissioned at the same time, there was great difficulty in manning her. Anticipating this, Captain Pellew wrote to Falmouth as soon as he had received his appointment, and adverting to the importance of getting his ship to sea quickly, he requested his brother to assist him in procuring a crew—of sailors, if possible; but if not, then of Cornish miners.

The choice may appear extraordinary, but Cornish miners are better calculated to make seamen than any other class of landsmen; not so much because they are always accustomed to difficult climbing, and familiar with the use of ropes, and

gunpowder, as that the Cornish system of mining, with an order and discipline scarcely surpassed in a ship of war, compels the lowest workman to act continually upon his own judgment. Thus it creates that combination of ready obedience, with intelligence, and promptitude at resource, which is the perfection of a sailor's character. Familiarity with danger gives the miner a cool and reflective intrepidity; and the old county sport of wrestling, so peculiarly a game of strength and skill, now falling into disuse, but then the daily amusement of every boy, was admirably calculated to promote the activity and self-possession necessary in personal conflicts.

Captain Pellew's quick discrimination is remarkably shown in thus discovering the capabilities of a class of men, who had never before been similarly tried, and with whom he could have had comparatively but little acquaintance. There were no mines in the immediate neighbourhood of any place where he had lived; and as his professional habits were not likely to give him an interest in the subject, he had probably never held much intercourse with miners, except when he might have met them as rioters. For at that period, the attention of the west countrymen was devoted almost exclusively to their mines and

fisheries, to the neglect of agriculture; and the county being thus dependent upon importations, famine was not uncommon. At such times, the poor tinners would come into the towns, or whereever they had reason to believe that corn was stored, with their bags, and their money, asking only barley-bread, and offering the utmost they could give for it, but insisting that food should be found for them at a price they could afford to pay. If the law must condemn such risings, humanity would pity them for the cause, and justice must admire the forbearance displayed in them. At one of these seasons of distress, when there was a great quantity of corn in the custom-house cellars at Falmouth, a strong body of miners came in to insist that it should be sold. Mr. Pellew, the collector, met them in the street, and explained to them the circumstances under which he was entrusted with it, and which left him no power to sell it. They were famishing men, and the corn was in their power; but they had come to buy, and famine itself, with the almost certainty of impunity, could not tempt them to steal. They received his explanation, and left the town peaceably.

About eighty miners entered for the Nymphe, and joined her at Spithead. She sailed on her

passage from Spithead to Falmouth very badly manned, having not more than a dozen seamen on board, exclusive of the officers, who were obliged to go aloft to reef and furl the sails — the captain setting an example wherever anything was to be done, and often steering the ship. A corporal of marines was captain of the forecastle. Arriving at Falmouth, after a rough passage, she soon picked up a few good men. She took a convoy from thence to the Nore, another from the Nore to Hamburgh, and a third from Cuxhaven to the Nore again; never letting slip an opportunity to press as many men as could be spared from the merchant-ships. The captain would remain in a boat all night, and think himself amply repaid if he obtained only one good man. From the Nore, she returned to Spithead, and thence sailed on a cruize, in company with the Venus, Captain Jonathan Faulknor; having now a full proportion of good seamen, though she was still short of her complement, and none of the crew had ever seen a shot fired. She parted company with the Venus in chase, but rejoined her on the 29th of May. On the 27th, the Venus had engaged the French frigate Semillante, one of a squadron then cruizing in the Channel under the orders of Capt. Mullon, of the Cleopatra. The action had continued two

hours, much to the disadvantage of the enemy, when the Cleopatra was seen coming up, and the Venus was obliged to fly. On the Nymphe rejoining her, the two frigates went in pursuit of the enemy as far as Cherbourg. Thence Captain Pellew proceeded to the North Channel, where some French cruizers were reported to have gone; but having swept the Channel without seeing anything of them, and taken on board his brother Israel, then living a half-pay commander at Larne, he returned to Falmouth. Here, on the 16th of June, the Nymphe pressed the crew of a South-seaman, which full manned the ship.

She sailed from Falmouth on the evening of the 18th. That afternoon Captain Pellew was informed that two French frigates had again been seen in the Channel, and he discussed with his brother Israel, at their elder brother's table, the course most likely to intercept them. After they had talked over the advantages of sailing along the English, or the French coast, they at length determined to keep mid-channel.

An active and most anxious pursuit of the enemy for the last three weeks, had made the crew not less eager than their commander; and the subject of the expected battle engrossed their sleeping and waking thoughts. A dream of

Captain Israel Pellew had perhaps some influence on the result;* and not less extraordinary was that of a master's mate, Mr. Pearse, who had served in the Winchelsea. He dreamed that the Nymphe fell in with a French frigate the day after leaving port, that they killed her captain, and took her; and so vivid was the impression, that he firmly believed it to be a supernatural intimation, and spoke of it accordingly to his messmates. They rallied him immoderately on his superstition, but his confidence remained unshaken; and when his papers were examined after his death, for he was killed in the action, it was found that he had written the dream in his pocket-book.

At day-break on the 19th, as they were proceeding up Channel, being still some miles to the westward of the Start, a sail was observed in the south-east, which was soon made out to be a French frigate. Before six o'clock they had approached very near, the enemy making no attempt to escape; and, indeed, if both nations had wished, at this early period of the war, to try the merit of their respective navies by a battle, no ship could have been better calculated than the Cleopatra to maintain the honour of her flag.

Her commander, Captain Mullon, was deservedly considered one of the most able officers in the French marine. As Suffren's captain, he had taken a prominent part in the actions with Sir Edward Hughes in the East Indies; and the code of signals then used along the French coast was his own invention. The Cleopatra had been more than a year in commission, and, with such a commander, it may be supposed that her crew had been well trained to all their duties. Indeed, it was known that the enemy had taken great pains in the equipment of their cruisers; and the generally inferior description of the English crews, inevitable from the circumstance that a navy was to be commissioned at once, had led to great apprehensions for the result of the first action. The seaman-like style in which the Cleopatra was handled did not escape the eye of Captain Pellew; who, conscious of his own disadvantage, from the inexperience of his ship's company, determined to avail himself of the power which the enemy's gallantry afforded him, to bring the ships at once to close action, and let courage alone decide it.

In the courage of his men he placed the firmest reliance; and when he addressed a few words to them, before they closed with the enemy, he

knew how to suggest the most effectual encouragement in a situation so new to them all. To the miners, he appealed by their honour and spirit as Cornishmen; a motive which the feelings of his own bosom told him would, above all things, animate theirs. Probably there is no place where local pride prevails so strongly, as in the west of Cornwall. The lower classes, employed for the most part in pursuits which require the constant exercise of observation and judgment, and familiarized to danger in their mines and fisheries, are peculiarly thoughtful and intrepid; while the distinctness of name and character which they derive from the almost insular position of their county, and the general ignorance of strangers in the interesting pursuits with which they are so familiar; have taught the lower classes to regard it less as an integral part of England, than a distinct and superior country. They have a nobler motive for this feeling, in the successes of their forefathers against the arms of the rebel parliament; when their loyalty, unwavering amidst prosperous treason, and their victories over superior discipline and numbers, obtained for them the grateful eulogy of their unfortunate sovereign. His letter remains painted, as he directed, in a conspicuous part of their older churches, a most

honourable monument of their virtues and his gratitude. No man could be prouder of his county than Captain Pellew himself; and as it was an object much coveted by the most promising of its young men, to serve in his ship, and he continued steadily to patronize those who showed themselves deserving, there is scarcely a town in it from which he has not made officers. Thus his feelings were in perfect unison with theirs; and never was an appeal made with greater confidence, or answered with higher spirit, than when he reminded them of their home.

At six o'clock the ships were so near, that the captains mutually hailed. Not a shot had yet been fired. The crew of the Nymphe now shouted "Long live King George!" and gave three hearty cheers. Captain Mullon was then seen to address his crew briefly, holding a cap of liberty, which he waved before them. They answered with acclamations, hooting "Vive la Republique!" as if in reply to the loyal watchword of the British crew, to mark the opposite principles for which the battle was to be fought. The cap of liberty was then given to a sailor, who ran up the main rigging, and screwed it on the masthead.

At a quarter past six the Nymphe reached the

HMS Pique and USS Essex

starboard quarter of the Cleopatra, when Captain Pellew, whose hat was still in his hand, raised it to his head, the pre-concerted signal for the Nymphe to open her fire. Both frigates immediately commenced a furious cannonade, which they maintained without intermission for three quarters of an hour, running before the wind under top-gallant-sails, and very near each other. At a little before seven, the mizen-mast of the Cleopatra fell, and presently after her wheel was shot away. Thus rendered unmanageable, she came round with her bow to the Nymphe's broadside, her jib-boom pressing hard against the main-mast. Captain Pellew, supposing that the enemy were going to board, ordered the boarders to be called, to repel them; but the disabled state of the Cleopatra was soon evident, and he at once gave orders to board her. Immediately the boarders rushed on the forecastle, a division of them, headed by Mr. Bell, boarding through the main-deck ports, and fought their way along the gang-ways to the quarter-deck. The republicans, though much superior in numbers, could not resist the impetuosity of the attack. At ten minutes past seven they had all fled below, or submitted, and the pendant of the Cleopatra was hauled down.

While the boarders were pouring in upon the enemy's forecastle, the mainmast of the Nymphe, having been much wounded, and with the main and spring-stays shot away, was most seriously endangered by the pressure of the Cleopatra's jib-boom. Fortunately, the jib-boom broke, and the Cleopatra fell alongside the Nymphe, head and stern. The mainmast was again in danger, from the Cleopatra's larboard maintopmast-studding-sail boom-iron hooking in the larboard leech-rope of the main-topsail, and dragging the sail. Captain Pellew ordered some active seaman to go out upon the yard, and free the sail, promising ten guineas if he succeeded; and a main-top-man, named Burgess, immediately sprang out, and cut the leech-rope. Lieutenant Pellow had been already directed to drop the best bower-anchor, as a means of getting the ships apart; and by the time half the prisoners had been removed, the prize separated, and fell astern.

The crew fought with a steadiness and gallantry above all praise. A lad, who had served in the Winchelsea as barber's boy, was made second captain of one of the main-deck guns. The captain being killed, he succeeded to command the gun; and through the rest of the action, Captain Pellew heard him from the gangway give the

word for all the successive steps of loading and pointing, as if they had been only in exercise. In the heat of action, one of the men came from the main deck to ask the Captain what he must do, for that all the men at his gun were killed or wounded but himself, and he had been trying to fight it alone, but could not. Another, who had joined but the day before, was found seated on a gun-carriage, complaining that he had been very well as long as he was fighting, but that his sickness returned as soon as the battle was over, and that he did not know what was the matter with his leg, it smarted so much. It was found that the poor fellow had received a musket ball in it.

The loss was severe on both sides, and in proportion to the respective crews, nearly equal. The Nymphe, out of a crew of 240, had 23 killed, including her boatswain, a master's mate (Pearse), and three midshipmen; and 27 wounded, among whom were her second lieutenant, the lieutenant of marines, and two midshipmen. The Cleopatra lost 63 killed and wounded, out of a crew of 320. She came out of action, therefore, with 67 effective men more than her conqueror. It is highly creditable to the Nymphe's crew, that they beat a ship like the Cleopatra by gunnery, notwithstanding

their inexperience; and carried her by a hand-to-hand conflict, notwithstanding their inferior numbers.

Captain Mullon was killed. A cannon-shot struck him on the back, and carried away great part of his left hip. Even at that dreadful moment, he felt the importance of destroying the signals which he carried in his pocket; but in his dying agony, he took out his commission in mistake, and expired in the act of devouring it;—a trait of devoted heroism never surpassed by any officer of any nation. These signals, so valuable as long as the enemy did not know them to be in possession of the British, thus fell into the hands of Captain Pellew, who delivered them to the Admiralty.

Captain Pellew arrived at Portsmouth with his prize on the following day. He sent the flag under which she fought, and the cap of liberty, to his brother. This, the first trophy of the kind taken in the revolutionary war, is about seven inches long, made of wood, and painted red; with a round, tapering spear of brass, about three feet and a half long, the lower half being blackened, with a screw at the end to fix it on the mast. The following letter accompanied these trophies :—

"DEAR SAM—Here we are—thank God! safe—after a glorious action with la Cleopâtre, the crack ship of France; 40 guns, 28 on her main-deck, and 12 on her quarter-deck, some of 36 pounds, and 320 men. We dished her up in fifty minutes, boarded, and struck her colours. We have suffered much, but I was long determined to make a short affair of it. We conversed before we fired a shot, and then, God knows, hot enough it was, as you will see by the inclosed. I might have wrote for a month, had I entered on the description of every gallant action, but we were all in it, heart and soul. I owe much to Israel, who undertook with the after-gun to cut off her rudder and wheel. The tiller was shot away, and four men were killed at her wheel, which I verily believe was owing to him. I will write again in a day or two, and do all I can for every body. We must go into harbour. Cleopatra is fifteen feet longer, and three feet wider than Nymphe—much larger. Poor dear Pearse is numbered with the slain—Plane and Norway slightly wounded—old Nicholls safe. God be praised for his mercy to myself, and Israel, and all of us!

"Yours, ever, E. P."

"Be kind to Susan—go over, and comfort her;

I cannot write to poor Pearse's mother for my life—do send her a note; I really cannot. I loved him, poor fellow, and he deserved it.

"June 20, 1793."

CHAPTER IV.

THE capture of the first frigate in a war is always an object of much interest; and the circumstances of the late action, the merit of which was enhanced by the skill and gallantry of the enemy, gave additional importance to Captain Pellew's success. "I never doubted," said Lord Howe, "that you would take a French frigate; but the manner in which you have done it, will establish an example for the war."

The brothers were introduced to the King on the 29th of June, by the Earl of Chatham, First Lord of the Admiralty; when Captain Pellew received the honour of knighthood, and his brother was made a post-captain. His Majesty presented Sir Edward to the Queen, with the flattering remark, "this is *our* friend;" in allusion probably to the chivalrous manner in which the frigates met, as if they had fought as the respective champions

of monarchical and republican principles. Besides the usual promotions, the master, Mr. Thomson, received a lieutenant's commission. He followed Sir Edward to the Arethusa and Indefatigable, and was made a commander for the action with the Droits de l'Homme.

Captain Mullon was buried at Portsmouth, with all the honours due to his gallantry. One of Sir Edward's first acts was to write a letter of condolence to the widow; and as he learnt from her reply, that she was left in narrow circumstances, he sent, with her husband's property, what assistance his then very limited means enabled him to offer. Madame Mullon's letter shows how the dreadful political frenzy which then prevailed in France, was able to control the feelings of an affectionate wife and mother. No common excitement could enable even the wife of a hero to do such justice to the officer, whose success had made her a widow. * He received also the warm acknowledgments of the Cleopatra's surviving officers; and, what was scarcely to have been expected at such a time, and after a first defeat, it was admitted in the Moniteur that the Cleopatra had been taken by a frigate of equal force.

* Appendix, D.

The action between the Nymphe and Cleopatra is interesting as the first in which a ship had substituted carronades for her quarter-deck guns of small calibre, making them a material part of her force. This gun had been invented about three years before the close of the former war, and the Admiralty had allowed it to be introduced generally into the navy; but except in one ship, the Rainbow, 44, which was armed entirely with heavy carronades, it was considered as supplementary to the regular armament, being mounted only where long guns could not be placed, and not affecting the ship's rating. The Flora, when she took the Nymphe, in 1780, thus carried six 18-pounder carronades, in addition to her proper number of long guns; and the Artois, when Sir Edward commanded her, was armed in the same manner. The carronade was at first very unpopular with the sailors, generally prejudiced as they are against innovations, and who, not understanding how to use it, attributed failures which arose from their own mismanagement, to defects in the invention. Sir Edward, who had no prejudices to contend with in training his crew, obtained permission, when he fitted the Nymphe, to exchange the six-pounders on her quarter-deck for 24-pounder carronades; and the result of the battle confirmed

his favourable opinion of them. His next ship, the Arethusa, was armed precisely as the forty-four gun frigates of the present day, with eighteen-pounders on the main-deck, and 32-pounder carronades on the quarter-deck and forecastle. He joined her in January, 1794.

Towards the end of 1793, the enemy fitted out a number of frigates which cruized at the entrance of the Channel, chiefly in small squadrons, and committed the most serious depredations. Sir Edward formed the idea of checking them by an independent cruizing squadron; but expecting that a measure so unusual as to create a distinct command within the limits of an Admiral's station would be very strongly opposed, he would not, as an officer without influence, venture to recommend it himself; but he explained his views to Sir J. Borlase Warren, whose interest was great, and urged him to apply for such a command. The Admiralty, whose attention had already been anxiously directed to the successes of the enemy, approved of the proposal, and gave Sir John a small squadron of frigates, of which the Arethusa was one, and which were to rendezvous at Falmouth. Such was the origin of the Western squadrons, which, from the number of their successes, and their character of dashing enterprise,

became the most popular service in the navy. As a school for officers and seamen, they were never surpassed. Almost all their captains rose to high distinction, and a list of well-known flag-officers may be traced in connexion with them, such as, perhaps, was never formed by any other service of the same extent. Nothing equals the animating duties of a cruizing frigate squadron. The vigilance in hovering on the enemy's coast, or sweeping over the seas around it; the chase, by a single ship detached to observe a suspicious stranger, or by the whole squadron to overtake an enemy; the occasional action; the boat-attacks; — service like this gives constant life to a sailor. In a line-of-battle ship, with the perfection of discipline, there is less demand for individual enterprise, and fewer of the opportunities which fit the crews for exploits where all depends on rapidity and daring. On the other hand, a single cruizer wants the stimulus supplied by constant emulation. But in a squadron, all the ships vie with one another; and the smartest of them, herself always improving, gives an example, and a character to the whole.

In the middle of April, 1794, Sir J. B. Warren sailed from Portsmouth in the Flora, with the Arethusa, Concorde, Melampus, and Nymphe.

At daylight on the 23d, he fell in with a French squadron off the Isle of Bass; the Engageante, Pomone, and Resolue, frigates; and the Babet, 22-gun corvette. The enemy, who were standing to the north-west, made sail on perceiving the British squadron; the Commodore in l'Engageante being a-head, then the Resolue, Pomone, and Babet. Soon after, the wind shifted two points, from S. S. W. to south, giving the British the weather-gage, and preventing the enemy from making their escape to the land.

Outsailing her consorts, the Flora came up with the enemy at half-past six; and giving the Babet a passing broadside, stood on and attacked the Pomone. The Pomone was at that time by much the largest frigate ever built, being only one hundred tons smaller than a 64-gun ship, and carrying long 24-pounders on her main-deck. The Flora, being only a 36, with 18-pounders, was a very unequal match for this powerful ship, which soon cut her sails and rigging to pieces, shot away her fore-topmast, and left her a-stern. The Melampus, which, notwithstanding her endeavours to close, was still far to windward on the Pomone's quarter, now fired on her, but unavoidably at too great distance to produce any material effect, though the heavy guns of the enemy inflicted on

her a greater loss than was sustained by any other ship in the squadron. The Arethusa, which had previously cannonaded the Babet, while she was pressing on to overtake the frigates, soon came up with the Pomone, closed her to windward, and engaged her single-handed, and within pistol-shot, till she struck. The Flora, in the meantime, took possession of the corvette. A short time before the close of the action, the Pomone took fire, but her crew succeeded in extinguishing the flames. At half-past nine, the Arethusa shot away her main and mizen-masts, and compelled her to surrender.

As soon as the enemy struck, the Commodore, in the full warmth of his feelings, wrote to Sir Edward a short and expressive note:—

"My Dear Pellew—I shall ever hold myself indebted, and under infinite obligations to you, for the noble and gallant support you gave me to-day.

"God bless you and all yours.

Your most sincere,

And affectionate friend,

J. B. Warren."

He then made signal for a general chace. Both the Flora and Arethusa were too much crippled to follow immediately, though the latter in a very short time repaired her damages sufficiently to enable her to make sail; and the Nymphe, to the great mortification of all on board, was so far a-stern from the first, that she was never able, with all their exertions, to take any part in the action. But the Concorde, commanded by Sir Richard Strachan, by superior sailing, came up with the Resolue; when the French Commodore, in l'Engageante, coming to assist his consort, Sir Richard brought his new opponent to close action, and took her. The Resolue escaped. It is remarkable that this frigate was attacked and compelled to submit by Sir R. Strachan, in November, 1791, for resisting the search of some vessels which were carrying stores to Tippoo Saib; and that she was afterwards taken by the Melampus.

The squadron carried their prizes into Portsmouth. The Commodore was honoured with a red ribbon, a most unusual distinction for a service of this extent, and which he often said Sir Edward Pellew had mainly contributed to place on his shoulder. Sir J. Warren's acknowledgments were not the only flattering notice which Sir

Edward received. The First Lord of tne Admiralty sent him a letter, dated on the third day after the action :—

"DEAR SIR—I have but a moment to acknowledge your letter, which I have received this morning, with infinite pleasure ; and to say, that I am extremely happy the same success and honour attend you in the Arethusa as in the Nymphe. I shall be very glad to see you while you are refitting, as soon as your leg will permit it, and which, I am happy to hear, is only a sprain. I am, dear Sir,

Your very faithful, humble servant,

CHATHAM."

From Lord Howe, the commander-in-chief on the station, then just about to sail on the cruize which proved in its result so honourable to himself and his country, he received the following letter :—

"The Charlotte, St. Helens, 28th April, 1794.

"SIR,—I had already desired Sir John Warren, before the receipt of your favour of this day's date, to present my congratulations on the very distinguished success which has attended your late undertaking. The superiority of the Pomone adds

much to the credit of it; although the event has not surpassed the confidence I should have entertained of it, if I could have been apprised of the opportunity before the action commenced.

"I am much obliged by the communications which have accompanied your letter; and remain, with sentiments of particular esteem and regard,

Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

HOWE."

On the 23d of August following, the squadron, now consisting of six frigates, which had sailed from Falmouth on the 7th, chased the French frigate Volontaire, and the corvettes Alerte and Espion, into the Bay of Audierne, a large bay immediately to the southward of Brest, having the promontory at the south entrance of that harbour, the Bec du Raz, for its northern, and Penmarck Point for its southern extremity. Four of the squadron chased the frigate on shore near the Penmarcks, where she was totally wrecked. The corvettes took shelter under the batteries, where they were driven on shore and cannonaded by the Flora and Arethusa, until their masts fell, and great part of their crews escaped to the land. The boats of the Arethusa were now ordered to

set them on fire; but when it was found, on boarding them, that many of their wounded could not be removed with safety, Sir Edward contented himself with taking out the rest of the prisoners, leaving the wounded to the care of their friends on shore, and the stranded corvettes, which were already bilged, to their fate. L'Espion was afterwards got off by the enemy.

The state of the Channel was at this time very different from what it had been a few months before. The enemy's cruizers, which then were almost in possession of it, could now scarcely leave their ports without being taken. While the frigates swept the Channel, spreading themselves to command a very extensive range of view, it was difficult for an enemy to elude their vigilance. Chasing in different directions, to take advantage of every change of wind, and to circumvent him in every manœuvre, it was almost impossible for him, once seen, to escape their pursuit.

The services of the western squadron led the Admiralty to increase the force, and divide the command; and the second squadron was given to Sir Edward Pellew. On the 21st of October, at daybreak, the Arethusa, with the Artois, Capain Nagle; Diamond, Sir Sidney Smith; and Galatea, Captain Keats, fell in with the French

frigate Revolutionaire, eight or ten miles to the westward of Ushant, the wind being off the land. The squadron gave chase, and the Commodore took the most weatherly course, observing, that if the French captain were a seaman, the prize would fall to himself, for his only chance of escape was by carrying a press of sail to windward. Instead of this the enemy kept away; and the Artois overtook, and brought her to action. After they had been closely engaged forty minutes, the Diamond came up; but Sir Sidney Smith, with that chivalrous feeling which marked his character, would not allow a shot to be fired, saying, that Nagle had fought his ship well, and he would not diminish the credit of his trophy. But when the enemy did not immediately surrender, he said that she must not be allowed to do mischief, and ordered a broadside to be ready. Then, taking out his watch, he continued, "We'll allow her five minutes; if she do not then strike, we'll fire into her." He stood with the watch in his hand, and just before the time expired, the French colours came down.

Captain Nagle was deservedly knighted for his gallantry. The prize, which had been launched only six months, was one hundred and fifty tons larger than any British-built frigate, and superior

to any captured one, except the Pomone. She had a furnace for heating shot, which the enemy had used in the action. She was commissioned by the commodore's early friend, Captain Francis Cole, and attached to the squadron. It would have added to the interest Sir Edward felt when he took possession of this very beautiful ship, could he have known that she was to close her career in the navy under his second son, at that time a child. She was taken to pieces in 1822, at Plymouth, after having been paid off by the Hon. Captain Fleetwood Pellew, who had commanded her for the preceding four years.

On the 22d of December, when Sir Edward's squadron was at anchor in Falmouth, the Channel fleet being at Spithead, and a large outward-bound convoy waiting for a fair wind at Torbay, an English gentleman, who had just escaped from L'Orient, arrived at Falmouth in a neutral vessel, and reported to Mr. Pellew, the Collector of the Customs, the important fact that the Brest fleet had just been ordered to sea. He had received the information from the naval commandant at L'Orient, and a line-of-battle-ship in that port, Le Caton, was to join the force. Sir Edward was immediately sent for by his brother, and the very important information they received appearing

certain, it was deemed necessary that Sir Edward should communicate it in person to the Admiralty, and send advices from the nearest post-towns on the road, to the admirals at Plymouth and Portsmouth, as well as to the senior officer at Torbay. He went off express the same afternoon, accompanied by the marine officer of the Arethusa, now Colonel Sir Richard Williams, K.C.B. Commandant of the division of marines at Portsmouth; and arrived in London on the 24th, at that time an almost unexampled dispatch. *

The object of the French fleet in putting to sea at so unusual a season, was most probably to strike a severe blow at British commerce, by intercepting the convoy from Torbay; and in this

* A trifling incident occurred in this journey, which may, perhaps, deserve to be mentioned. In going down a hill, two or three miles beyond Axminster, both leaders fell, and the night being very cold, for the wind had set in strong from the eastward, a ring, on which he set particular value, dropped from Sir Edward's finger, as he was getting into the carriage again. He was vexed at the loss; but the road being very dirty, and the night dark, it was useless then to seek it. He therefore tore a bush from the hedge, and left it where the carriage had stopped; and ordering the post-boys to draw up at the next cottage, he knocked up the inmates, and promised them a reward if they found it. To his great pleasure, the expedient proved successful, and the ring was delivered to him on his return.

there is every reason to believe they would have succeeded, but for the timely information of their intended cruise, and the prompt measures which were taken in consequence, for the wind became fair that night. It was one of those events which so frequently occur in history, and as often in private life, where important consequences depend upon some accidental, or, to speak more properly, providential circumstance, which yet is unavailing, unless improved by judgment and energy.

When Sir Edward made his communication to the Admiralty, Earl Spencer observed, that the first step was to send advices without delay to the admirals at Plymouth and Portsmouth. "That," replied Sir Edward, "has been already attended to. I sent despatches from Exeter and Salisbury." "Then, sir," said a junior Lord, apparently with displeasure, "you have left nothing for the Admiralty to do."—"Except," interposed Lord Spencer, "to get the British fleet to sea with as little delay as possible."

The Board directed Sir Edward to return to Falmouth, and proceed without delay to reconnoitre Brest. During his absence, Sir J. B. Warren had arrived with his frigates; and a squadron, consisting of the Pomone, Arethusa, Diamond, Galatea, and Concorde, sailed from Falmouth on

the 2d of January, and arrived off Ushant on the following morning. The Diamond, commanded by Sir Sidney Smith, was sent a-head to reconnoitre, and the squadron followed. A line-of-battle-ship was seen at anchor in Bertheaume Bay on the evening of the 4th. The Diamond persevered in working up through the night, and at eight next morning was seen returning to the squadron.

Sir Sidney reported that he had completely reconnoitred Brest at day-light, and ascertained that the enemy's fleet was at sea. On his return, he was under the necessity of passing very near the French 74, but having disguised his ship with French colours, and a *bonnet rouge* at her head, he went boldly under the enemy's stern, and hailed her in French. She was the ship from L'Orient, Le Caton, which had been obliged to return to port disabled; and her pumps were going as she lay at anchor. Sir Sidney gave the name of his own ship as La Surveillante; and having offered assistance, which was declined, he took leave, and made sail for the squadron.

The enemy's fleet, thirty-five sail of the line, thirteen frigates and sixteen smaller vessels, had put to sea towards the end of December. Some of them were driven back by a gale, but the fleet

continued to cruise until the end of January, when they were obliged to return to port, with the loss of five ships.*

The squadron having effected their principal object, arrived off Falmouth, and landed despatches on the 6th. They afterwards continued their cruise until the 22d, when they returned to port.

Sir Edward now left the Arethusa, and joined the Indefatigable, one of three 64 gun ships which had lately been cut down to heavy frigates. One part of the plan was to reduce their masts and rigging in proportion to the diminished size of their hulls. All of them proved slow and unmanageable ships, and Sir Edward, who had satisfied himself of the cause of the failure, applied to the Navy Board for permission to alter the Indefatigable. The Comptroller of the Navy was much offended at the request, denying that the plan of the Navy Board had failed; and when Sir Edward alluded to the notorious inefficiency of the ships, he said that it arose entirely from faulty stowage of the ballast and hold. They parted, mutually dissatisfied; and Sir Edward appealed

* The Revolutionaire, 110, wrecked Dec. 24, on the Mingan rock, near Brest; the Neuf Thermidor, 80, Scipion, 80, and Superbe, 74, foundered in a heavy gale on the 28th of January; and the Neptune, 74, wrecked in Audierne Bay.

immediately to Lord Spencer, who, a short time before, had been placed at the head of the Admiralty. This nobleman showed every desire to meet Sir Edward's wishes, but expressed very great reluctance to involve himself in a difference with the Navy Board; and requested him to arrange the affair, if possible, himself. He accordingly attempted it; but finding no disposition to meet his views, he at length declined the appointment, saying that he would not risk his credit by commanding a worthless ship. This brought the question to a point; and he was allowed to alter the Indefatigable according to his own plans. They were entirely successful, for she became an excellent sailer, and a most efficient ship.

Sir Edward was remarkably accurate in judging of a ship's qualities. For this he was probably indebted to the practical knowledge of ship-building which he acquired, when he assisted to construct the squadron on Lake Champlain, and to his very close intimacy with Lieutenant Schanck, an enthusiast on the subject, and who always regarded him with peculiar pride and attachment, as a pupil of his own. The general knowledge which he thus obtained, could not fail to be improved in the course of his own service. Many illustrations may be given of the

correctness of his opinion in this respect. The Bordelais, a French cruiser taken by the Revolutionaire, carrying 24 guns on a flush deck 149 feet long, was bought into the service, and commissioned by Captain Manby. She was one of the fastest and most beautiful vessels ever seen, but so dangerous, that she was called in the navy, "the coffin." Sir Edward saw her alongside the jetty at Plymouth, and pointing out to her commander the cause of her dangerous character, recommended the means of guarding against it. His advice was always acted upon, and the Bordelais survived; while two other captured sloops of war, the Railleur and Trompeuse, built after her model, but on a reduced scale, foundered with their crews on the same day. When the 10-gun brigs were introduced into the service, he condemned them in the strongest terms; and being asked what should be done with those already built, he replied, "put them all together, and burn them, for they will drown their crews." His prediction has been too correctly fulfilled in the fate of these vessels, of which six have been missing in the packet-service in six years and a half, with two hundred and fifty people; a loss the more distressing, since only one of the post-office packets, and that not a regular one, had

foundered within all memory. At a much later period, when the beautiful Caledonia, the most perfect ship of her class, was about to be made the victim of an experiment, he implored, but unfortunately in vain, that she might be spared.

The Indefatigable sailed from Falmouth on her first cruise on the 2d of March; and in the following week, the squadron captured fifteen out of a convoy of twenty-five vessels, which had taken shelter among the rocks of the Penmarcks. On the 7th of May, she had a most narrow escape from shipwreck. The extraordinary circumstances connected with the accident, are best told in the language of one of the officers.

"In the summer of 1795, the Indefatigable, when cruising off Cape Finisterre, fell in with Admiral Waldegrave's squadron of line-of-battle ships, and the Concorde frigate. The admiral made signal for the Indefatigable and Concorde to chase a small strange sail running along shore. All sail was soon set, royals, top-gallant studding-sails, &c., the wind being northerly, and the water as smooth as glass. At noon, Mr. George Bell, acting master, was in the act of crossing from the starboard gangway to the quarter-deck, to report twelve o'clock to the captain, who was looking over the larboard quarter-deck hammocks at the

land, and strange sail, when he suddenly heard a rumbling noise, as if a topsail-tie had given way, and the yard was coming down. He looked aloft, but saw nothing amiss, and then perceived that the ship was aground. Mr. Bell instantly sprang into the main-chains, and dropped the hand-lead over. Only eighteen feet water was on the rock, the ship drawing nineteen and a half feet abaft. There were twelve and fourteen fathoms under the bow and stern, consequently she hung completely in the centre. Sir Edward, whose judgment in moments of danger was always so correct and decisive as never to have occasion to give a second order, immediately directed some of the main-deck guns to be moved, and the ship's company to sally her off the rock. This fortunately succeeded. The ship fell over heavily, and started into deep water, with five feet water in her hold. Signal of distress was now made to the flag-ship, and the admiral ordered the Indefatigable to proceed to Lisbon to repair, and the Concorde to accompany us to the mouth of the Tagus. We arrived on the third day after the accident. So serious was the leak, that the men could not quit the pumps for a moment, and only a good ship's company such as we had, could have kept the ship afloat.

"On the evening of our arrival, the English consul sent on board a number of Portuguese, to relieve the crew. Early next morning, (having the morning watch,) I observed all these people leave the pumps. It was a saint's day, and they would not work. I ran into the captain's cabin to state the circumstance; he in a moment came out in his dressing-gown, with a drawn sword, chased the Portuguese round the gangways and forecastle, made them to a man lay in at the pumps, and kept them at it till the pumps sucked.

"In order to ascertain whether both sides of the ship had been injured, Sir Edward resolved to examine the bottom himself; and to the astonishment and admiration of every body who witnessed this heroic act, he plunged into the water, thoroughly examined both sides, and satisfied himself that the starboard side only had been damaged. This saved much time and expense; for had not Sir Edward hazarded the experiment, the apparatus for heaving down must have been shifted over. The Indefatigable was docked on her arrival at Plymouth, early in August, and it then appeared how accurately he had described the injury. She had twenty-seven of her floors and first futtocks broke, and the Portuguese, in repairing

her, had put in seventeen feet of main-keel. The frame of a regular built frigate could not have stood the shock.

"A few days after the submarine inspection, the gun-room officers invited Sir Edward to dinner, to commemorate the 19th of June, the Nymphe's action, on board the Principe Real, a Portuguese 80-gun ship, used as a hulk by the Indefatigable's crew, while their ship was repairing. In the evening, some of the crew took Sir Edward on their shoulders, carried him all over the hulk, and swore they would make him an admiral."

In her next cruise, the Indefatigable nearly lost her gallant captain. On the 31st of August she had strong gales and squally weather, the wind flying round from W. by S. to N.E. S.E., and S.W. In the afternoon the weather moderated. The ship had been hove to under a close-reefed main-topsail, with the top-gallant yards down, the sea running very high, and the ship pitching much. It was Sunday, and the captain was at dinner with the officers, when a bustle was heard on deck. He ran instantly to the poop, and saw two men in the water, amidst the wreck of a six-oared cutter. One of the tackles had unhooked, through a heavy sea lifting the boat, and the men had jumped into her to secure it, when another

sea dashed her to pieces. The captain stepped into the gig, which was carried over the stern above the cutter, and ordered it to be lowered; and though his officers urgently dissuaded him from so dangerous an attempt, he determined to hazard it. At this moment the ship made a deep plunge aft, the boat was stove, and the captain left in the water. He was much hurt, and bled profusely, for he was dashed violently against the rudder, and his nostril was torn up by the hook of one of the tackles. But his coolness and self-possession did not forsake him, and calling for a rope, he slung himself with one of the many that were thrown to him, and cheerfully ordered those on board to haul away. As soon as possible, the jolly-boat, with an officer and crew, was hoisted out from the booms, and fortunately saved the men.

This was the third time within the present year that Sir Edward had risked his life to save others. While the ship was being fitted out, he had been instrumental in saving two lives at Point Beach. A short time before she sailed, and while she was lying at Spithead, the coxswain of one of the cutters fell overboard. The captain ran aft, and was instantly in the water, where he caught the man just as he was sinking. Life was apparently

extinct, but happily it was restored by the usual means. Perhaps no man has oftener distinguished himself in this manner; but the splendour of one act of heroism and humanity leaves all the others in the shade.

On the 26th of January, 1796, when the Indefatigable was lying in Hamoaze, after having been docked, the Dutton, a large East Indiaman, employed in the transport service, on her way to the West Indies, with part of the 2d, or Queen's regiment, was driven into Plymouth by stress of weather. She had been out seven weeks, and had many sick on board. The gale increasing in the afternoon, it was determined to run for greater safety to Catwater; but the buoy at the extremity of the reef off Mount Batten having broke adrift, of which the pilots were not aware, she touched on the shoal, and carried away her rudder. Thus rendered unmanageable, she fell off, and grounded under the citadel, where beating round, she lay rolling heavily with her broadside to the waves. At the second roll she threw all her masts overboard together.

Sir Edward and Lady Pellew were engaged to dine on that day with Dr. Hawker, the excellent vicar of Charles, who had become acquainted with Mr. Pellew when they were serving together at

Plymouth as surgeons to the marines, and continued through life the intimate and valued friend of all the brothers. Sir Edward noticed the crowds running to the Hoe, and having learned the cause, he sprang out of the carriage, and ran off with the rest. Arrived at the beach, he saw at once that the loss of nearly all on board, between five and six hundred, was inevitable, without some one to direct them. The principal officers of the ship had abandoned their charge, and got on shore, just as he arrived on the beach. Having urged them, but without success, to return to their duty, and vainly offered rewards to pilots and others belonging to the port to board the wreck, for all thought it too hazardous to be attempted, he exclaimed, "then I will go myself!" A single rope, by which the officers and a few others had landed, formed the only communication with the ship; and by this he was hauled on board through the surf. The danger was greatly increased by the wreck of the masts, which had fallen towards the shore; and he received an injury on the back, which confined him to his bed for a week, in consequence of being dragged under the mainmast. But disregarding this at the time, he reached the deck, declared himself, and assumed the command. He assured the

WRECK OF THE DUTTON.

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people that every one would be saved, if they quietly obeyed his orders; that he would himself be the last to quit the wreck, but that he would run any one through who disobeyed him. His well known name, with the calmness and energy he displayed, gave confidence to the despairing multitude. He was received with three hearty cheers, which were echoed by the multitude on shore; and his promptitude at resource soon enabled him to find and apply the means by which all might be safely landed. His officers in the meantime, though not knowing that he was on board, were exerting themselves to bring assistance from the Indefatigable. Mr. Pellowe, first lieutenant, left the ship in the barge, and Mr. Thomson, acting master, in the launch; but the boats could not be brought alongside the wreck, and were obliged to run for the Barbican. A small boat, belonging to a merchant vessel, was more fortunate. Mr. Edsell, signal midshipman to the port admiral, and Mr. Coghlan, mate of the vessel, succeeded, at the risk of their lives, in bringing her alongside. The ends of two additional hawsers were got on shore, and Sir Edward contrived cradles to be slung upon them, with travelling ropes to pass forward and backward between the ship and the beach. Each hawser

was held on shore by a number of men, who watched the rolling of the wreck, and kept the ropes tight and steady. Meantime a cutter had with great difficulty worked out of Plymouth pool, and two large boats arrived from the dockyard, under the directions of Mr. Hemmings, the master-attendant, by whose caution and judgment they were enabled to approach the wreck, and receive the more helpless of the passengers, who were carried to the cutter. Sir Edward, with his sword drawn, directed the proceedings, and preserved order, a task the more difficult, as the soldiers had got at the spirits before he came on board, and many were drunk. The children, the women, and the sick were the first landed. One of them was only three weeks old, and nothing in the whole transaction impressed Sir Edward more strongly, than the struggle of the mother's feelings before she would entrust her infant to his care, or afforded him more pleasure than the success of his attempt to save it. Next the soldiers were got on shore; then the ship's company; and finally, Sir Edward himself, who was one of the last to leave her. Every one was saved, and presently after the wreck went to pieces.

Nothing could equal the lustre of such an

action, except the modesty of him who was the hero of it. Indeed, upon all occasions, forward as he was to eulogize the merits of his followers, Sir Edward was reserved almost to a fault upon every thing connected with his own services. The only notice taken of the Dutton, in the journal of the Indefatigable, is the short sentence:—"Sent two boats to the assistance of a ship on shore in the Sound;" and in his letter to Vice-Admiral Onslow, who had hoisted his flag at Plymouth a day or two before, he throws himself almost out of sight, and ascribes the chief merit to the officer who directed the boats:—

"DEAR SIR—I hope it happened to me this afternoon to be serviceable to the unhappy sufferers on board the Dutton; and I have much satisfaction in saying, that every soul in her was taken out before I left her, except the first mate, boatswain, and third mate, who attended the hauling ropes to the shore, and they eased me on shore by the hawser. It is not possible to refrain speaking in raptures of the handsome conduct of Mr. Hemmings, the master-attendant, who, at the imminent risk of his life, saved hundreds. If I had not hurt my leg, and been otherwise much

bruised, I would have waited on you; but hope this will be a passable excuse.

I am, with respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

ED. PELLEW."

" Thursday evening."

Services performed in the sight of thousands could not thus be concealed. Praise was lavished upon him from every quarter. The corporation of Plymouth voted him the freedom of the town. The merchants of Liverpool presented him with a valuable service of plate. On the 5th of March following, he was created a baronet, as Sir Edward Pellew, of Treverry, and received for an honourable augmentation of his arms, a civic wreath, a stranded ship for a crest, and the motto, " Deo adjuvante Fortuna sequatur." This motto, so modest, and not less expressive of his own habitual feeling, was chosen by himself, in preference to one proposed, which was more personally complimentary.

Appreciating Mr. Coghlan's services, and delighted with the judgment and gallantry he had displayed, Sir Edward offered to place him on his own quarter-deck. It is unnecessary to add that

the career of this distinguished officer has been worthy of his introduction to the navy.

On the 9th of March, the Indefatigable sailed from Falmouth, with the Revolutionaire, Argo, Amazon, and Concorde. On the 21st, the Indefatigable gave chase to three corvettes, one of which she drove on shore, and destroyed. On the 13th of April, they fell in with the French frigate l'Unité, on her way from l'Orient to Rochforte, with the governor's lady, Madame la Large and her family on board, as passengers. The Revolutionaire, which was ordered to chase in shore to cut off the enemy from the land, came up with her a little before midnight. Captain Cole hailed the French captain, and urged him repeatedly to submit to a superior force; but the enemy refusing to strike, he poured in two destructive broadsides. He was preparing to board, the frigates at the time running ten knots, when the French ship surrendered. She had suffered very severely from the fire of the Revolutionaire, without having been able to make any effectual return. Sir Edward sent the passengers to Brest in a neutral vessel, and finding that one of the junior officers of the prize was a son of M. la Large, he took the young man's parole, and allowed him to accompany his mother.

With his official communication to the Admiralty, which accompanied Captain Cole's account of the action, he wrote a private letter to the First Lord, and another to the Earl of Chatham. It was his practice through life thus to strengthen an interest for his officers in every possible quarter, and it was one, though not the only cause, of his remarkable success in obtaining promotion for so many of them. His letters on this occasion, though they display the warmth of private friendship, are not stronger than he was accustomed to write for others whose only claim upon him was that which every deserving officer has to the patronage of his commander. The following is the letter to Lord Spencer:—

"My Lord—I have much pleasure in informing your Lordship of the capture of the French frigate l'Unité, of thirty-eight guns, and two hundred and fifty-five men; and I have more in conveying to your Lordship, my sense of Captain Cole's merit upon the occasion. Nothing could be more decided than his conduct; and his attack was made with so much vigour and judgment, that a ship of very superior force to l'Unité must have rewarded his gallantry. To his extreme vigilance and zeal, the squadron are indebted for

this prize. It is not improper for me to say, that on all occasions I have found much reason to respect Captain Cole as a skilful and brave officer, and I rejoice in the opportunity of bearing testimony to his merit."

To the Earl of Chatham, with whom he was intimate, he wrote in a more familiar strain:

"My Dear Lord—Much as I dislike breaking in upon your time, I cannot resist the pleasure of repeating to you the good fortune of my friend, Frank Cole, who was the fortunate man among us in taking l'Unité, alias la Variante. There are few things, my Lord, that could raise my friend either in your opinion or mine; but one cannot but rejoice on finding our expectations realized.

"I am satisfied that nothing could be better conducted than Frank's ship upon this occasion, or courage more coolly displayed; a proof of which was strongly exhibited in his conversation with a vaunting Frenchman, boasting of his own strength, and threatening the vengeance of his partner. It will not be advancing too much when I say, that a ship of far superior force must have shared the same fate. The French commander complains bitterly of Cole's taking such

advantages as his superior skill afforded him. The Revolutionaire is much improved since her mainmast was moved, and you will believe her, my Lord, always in good order. I have with infinite pleasure given my testimony of Frank to Lord Spencer, and I doubt not but your Lordship will give him a lift in the same quarter."

Captain Cole, though his career had been less brilliant than that of his friend since they parted, had gained most flattering distinction. His high character as an officer, and his reputation for peculiar correctness of conduct, added perhaps to his more than common advantages in person and manners, had obtained for him the honour of being selected, with the late Sir Richard Keats, to have the particular charge of his present Majesty, when he first entered the navy, being made lieutenants of the watch in which the Prince was placed. He was introduced by his royal pupil to the Prince of Wales, who said of him, "they may talk of a cockpit education, and cockpit manners; but a court could not have produced more finished manners than those of your friend, Captain Cole." The friendship between Sir Edward and himself had continued from their boyhood, and they cherished for each other the affection and confidence

of brothers. He died at Plymouth in 1799. A little before his death, Sir Edward, who had just returned from a cruize, came to see him for the last time. "Now," said the expiring officer, "I shall die more happy, since I have been permitted to see once again the dearest of my friends:" and when Sir Edward at length tore himself from the room, unable to control his feelings any longer, a burst of grief, on returning to the mother and sisters of Captain Cole, prevented him for a considerable time from regaining sufficient composure to quit the affecting scene.

On the morning of the 20th of April, the frigates were lying-to off the Lizard, when a large ship was seen coming in from seaward, which tacked as soon as she perceived them, and stood off without answering the private signal. The Revolutionaire and Argo were ordered by signal to proceed to port with the prize, and the others to make all sail in chase, the wind being off the land. Towards evening, the Concorde and Amazon had been run out of sight, but the Indefatigable gained upon the chace, which made the most strenuous efforts to escape, and was manœuvred with no common ability. She was the 40-gun frigate Virginie, one of the finest and fastest vessels in the French marine, and commanded by Captain

Jacques Bergeret, a young officer of the highest character and promise. The Virginie was one of the fleet of Villaret Joyeuse, when ten months before, Cornwallis, with five sail of the line, and two frigates, effected his justly-celebrated retreat from thirty French men-of-war, of which twelve were of the line. On this occasion, Bergeret attacked the Mars, with a spirit and judgment which gave full earnest of his future conduct.

Finding that the British frigate outsailed her on a wind, the Virginie bore away; but the Indefatigable continued to gain on her, and at a little before midnight, came up within gun-shot, and took in royals and studding-sails, having run one hundred and sixty-eight miles in fifteen hours. The Virginie fired her stern-chasers, occasionally yawing to bring some of her broadside guns to bear, but without material effect; and the two ships, still running under a press of canvass, came to action. The Indefatigable had only one broadside-gun more than her opponent; but her size, and very heavy metal, gave her an irresistible superiority. Seven of the Virginie's people were killed at one of the quarter-deck-guns, which struck such a panic in those around them, that it was with difficulty they could be induced to return to their quarters. Yet Bergeret fought

his ship with admirable skill and gallantry, and maintained a very protracted action, constantly endeavouring to cripple the Indefatigable's rigging. Sir Edward had a very narrow escape. The mizen-top-mast was shot away, and falling forward, it disabled the main-yard, and came down on the splinter-netting directly over his head. Happily, the netting was strong enough to bear the wreck.

It was an hour and three-quarters from the commencement of the action, when, the Virginie's mizen-mast and main-top-mast being shot away, the Indefatigable unavoidably went a-head. In addition to her former damage, she had lost her foreyard and gaff, and her rigging was so much cut, that she was unable immediately to shorten sail. The Virginie was completely riddled. Some of the Indefatigable's shot had even gone through the sail-room, and out at the opposite side of the ship. She had four feet water in her hold, and more than forty of her crew were killed and wounded. Yet she attempted to rake her opponent as she was shooting a-head, and had nearly succeeded in doing so.

While the Indefatigable was reeving fresh braces, the other frigates came up, having been enabled to make a shorter distance by the altered

course of the combatants during the chace. On their approach, the Virginie fired a lee-gun, and hauled down her light; and being hailed by the Concorde, replied, "We must surrender, there are so many of you: we strike to the frigate a-head." A more brave and skilful resistance is scarcely afforded by the annals of the war; and the officer who thus defends his ship against a very superior force, may challenge more honour than would be claimed by the victor.

A boat was sent from the Indefatigable for the gallant prisoner, who was deeply affected at his misfortune, and wept bitterly. He inquired to whom he had struck; and being told, Sir Edward Pellew, "Oh!" he exclaimed, "that is the most fortunate man that ever lived! He takes every thing, and now he has taken the finest frigate in France."

Bergeret was for some time the honoured guest of Sir Edward and his family, and the British Government considered him an officer of sufficient character to be offered in exchange for Sir Sidney Smith, who had been made prisoner at Havre just before. They sent him to France on his parole, to effect this object; but his application not being successful, he returned to England. Two years after, Sir Sidney Smith escaped, and the

British Government, with a feeling most honourable to themselves, set Bergeret unconditionally at liberty. Thus do the brave and good, in challenging the respect of their enemies, contribute to soften the rigours of war, and to create a better feeling between hostile nations.

CHAPTER V.

FRANCE having at length obtained internal quiet, and a settled government under the Directory, and secured the alliance of Spain and Holland, prepared for a decisive blow against Great Britain. The condition of the British empire was at that time peculiarly critical. Of her allies, some had joined the enemy, and the others had proved unequal to resist him. In the East, the most powerful of the native princes were preparing to subvert her authority. At home, Ireland was organized for rebellion; and England herself contained a strong revolutionary party, checked, indeed, by the energy of the Government, and still more by the excellent disposition of the people, but prepared to rise in formidable activity, whenever the successes of the enemy should enable them to declare themselves.

Well acquainted with all her difficulties, the

French Government hastened to take advantage of them. Through the summer and autumn of 1796, a powerful fleet was equipped at Brest, to land an army on the shores of Ireland; after accomplishing which, a squadron of eight sail of the line was to be detached to India, where its support would probably encourage the hostile states to an immediate and general war. Its prospects were the more promising, as the armies of two of the native princes were officered by Frenchmen. As for Ireland, that was regarded as a country of which they had only to take possession; and the well known feeling of a considerable part of the inhabitants warranted the most sanguine hopes of the invader.

The history of Ireland affords a melancholy, but most instructive lesson, pre-eminent as that unhappy country has been, at once for natural and political advantages, and for misery, turbulence, and crime. A Government to command the obedience of the people by its firmness, and their confidence by a marked consideration for their feelings and welfare; a gentry, united with them as their leaders, protectors, and friends; and a church, winning them to a purer faith by the unobtrusive display of benefits and excellences; all these blessings might have been its own. But

by fatal mismanagement, the gentry, those of them who remained, were viewed as the garrison of a conquered country, by the multitude, who were taught to feel themselves a degraded caste. The church became identified in their minds with all that they most complained of; and the faith for which they suffered was doubly endeared to them. Thus the instruments for their deliverance confirmed their thraldom, and what should have won affection, aggravated their enmity.

If there were a mistake beyond all this, it was that of expecting peace from concessions extorted by violence, and calculated only to give increased power to the enemies of existing institutions. Lord Exmouth held a very decided opinion upon this point, and foresaw that strong coercive measures would become necessary in consequence. He well knew how feeble would be the restraint imposed by any conditions contemplated by the advocates of change; and in allusion to the remark of a nobleman of the highest rank, who had expressed a belief that he would think differently, when he saw the securities which would accompany the concessions—"Securities!" he said, "it is all nonsense! I never yet could see them, and I never shall." While the question was in progress, he wrote—"The times are awful, when the choice of two

evils only is left, a threatened rebellion, or the surrender of our Constitution, by the admission of Catholics into parliament and all offices. I think even this will not satisfy Ireland. Ascendancy is their object. You may postpone, and by loss of character parry the evil for a short space; but not long, depend upon it. You and I may not see it, but our children will, and be obliged to meet the struggle man to man, which we may now shirk. By God alone can we be saved from such consequences; may He shed his power and grace upon us as a nation!"

The political being every where dependent on the religious creed, a country where Popish superstitions prevail will always contain two parties, hostile upon principle to a free and constitutional government. The multitude, who have surrendered the right of private judgment upon the most engrossing subject, lose the disposition to exercise it upon matters of inferior importance; and become dangerous instruments in the hands of designing characters. A party will be found among them, whose penetration can detect the mummeries of imposture, but not perceive the claims of religion; and who, as they throw off allegiance to God, revolt at any exercise of human authority. Political privileges, the strength of a nation, where

the intelligence and morals of the people support the law, will in such a country give power to rebellion, and impunity to crime. A government paternal in vigour as in kindness; the control of a firm authority, supreme over all influence, to maintain order, to leave no excuse for party, to protect the peaceable, promptly to suppress all resistance to the law, and to give to the demagogue only the alternative between obedience and rebellion, will be required not more for the safety of the state, than for the welfare of the misguided people.

When the progress of the French revolution engaged the attention of Europe, there was no country where it was regarded with greater interest than in Ireland. The Papists hoped from it the opportunity to overthrow Protestant supremacy; and the Liberals hailed the triumph of their own principles. Emissaries were sent to France, who represented that nothing was wanting to secure the independence of Ireland, but a regular army for a rallying point; and France, hoping to give a fatal blow to her most formidable enemy, and to gain a valuable province for herself, readily promised the aid required, and as soon as her own distracted condition would allow, hastened to fulfil her engagement.

The auxiliary force which the rebel delegates

deemed sufficient, was fifteen thousand men; but an army of at least eighteen thousand was provided, commanded by that determined republican and distinguished officer, General Hoche, who had very recently succeeded in suppressing the revolt in La Vendee. Vice Admiral Villaret Joyeuse, defeated by Lord Howe on the 1st of June, was selected to command the fleet, but a misunderstanding having arisen between him and the General, he was superseded by Vice-Admiral Morard de Galles.

The Minister of Marine, M. Truguet, whose able arrangements seemed to have anticipated and provided for every difficulty, had intended that the descent should be made in October, or at latest by the beginning of November; but the General having preferred to embark the whole army at once, it was delayed for the arrival of Rear Admirals Richery and Villeneuve; of whom the first, with seven sail of the line and three frigates, was waiting for an opportunity to come up from Rochefort, and the other was expected with five sail of the line from Toulon. The secret of the enemy's intentions was so well kept, that England had to conjecture the destination of the armament, and it was doubted to the last whether its object was Ireland, Portugal, or Gibraltar. In

this uncertainty, a principal division of the Channel fleet, under Lord Bridport, remained at Spithead; Sir Roger Curtis, with a smaller force, cruised to the westward; and Vice-Admiral Sir John Colpoys was stationed off Brest, at first with ten, but afterwards with thirteen sail of the line. Sir Edward Pellew, with a small force of frigates, latterly watched the harbour.

About the middle of November, Sir R. Curtis returned to port, and soon after, M. Richery sailed from Rochefort, and entered Brest on the 11th of December. Sir E. Pellew, who had necessarily retired on his approach, immediately sent off two frigates with despatches, the Amazon to England, and the Phœbe to Sir J. Colpoys. On the 15th, he stood in with the Indefatigable, and though chased by a seventy-four and five frigates, stationed in Bertheaume Bay, he persisted in watching the port as usual. In the afternoon he saw the French fleet leave the road of Brest, and immediately sent back the Phœbe to the Admiral. The enemy anchored between Camaret and Bertheaume Bays, in front of the goulet, or entrance into Brest road.

Knowing how much depended on his vigilance, Sir Edward had watched Brest with the most anxious attention. The wind blew generally from

the eastward, at times so strong, that the line-of-battle ships would be under a close-reefed main-top-sail and reefed fore-sail; and the weather was intensely cold: yet he went every morning to the mast-head, where he would remain making his observations for a considerable part of the day, one of the older midshipmen being usually with him. "Well I remember," writes one of his officers, "that on being one day relieved to go down to my dinner, I was obliged to have some of the main-top-men to help me down the rigging, I was so benumbed with the intense cold: yet the captain was there six or seven hours at a time, without complaining, or taking any refreshment."

On the 16th, the wind being from the eastward, the French fleet, forty-four ships, of which seventeen were of the line, and thirteen frigates, got finally under way, not waiting the arrival of Villeneuve. ' The Admiral purposed leaving Brest by the southern entrance, the Passage du Raz, between the Bec du Raz and the Saintes. By taking this course, and by so timing his departure as to clear the land just at nightfall, he hoped to elude the vigilance of the British fleet off Ushant, whose usual cruizing ground was not more than six or seven leagues to leeward. But through the delays inseparable from getting a large and

encumbered fleet to sea, it was four o'clock before all the ships were under sail; and as night was fast closing in, and the wind becoming variable, the Admiral determined not to attempt the narrow and dangerous passage he had fixed on, but to steer for the open entrance in front of the harbour, the Passage d'Iroise. Accordingly, he altered his own course, and made signal for the fleet to follow; but neither was generally observed, and the greater part of the ships, as previously directed, entered the Passage du Raz. The Admiral, therefore, sent a corvette into the midst of them, to call their attention to his own ship, which continued to fire guns, and display lights to mark the change in her course. By this time it was quite dark, and many circumstances increased the enemy's confusion. The Seduisant, seventy-four, ran on the Grand Stevenet, a rock at the entrance of the Passage du Raz, where she was totally lost that night, with nearly seven hundred of her people. Her guns, and other signals, prevented those of the corvette from being attended to; and the Indefatigable, which kept close to the French Admiral, made his signals unintelligible to the fleet.

Sir E. Pellew had stood in that morning with the Indefatigable and Revolutionaire, and at noon

came in sight of the enemy. At a quarter before five, when they had all got under way, he sent off Captain Cole to the Admiral, and remained with his own ship to observe and embarrass their movements. With a boldness which must have astonished them, accustomed though they had been to the daring manner in which he had watched their port; under easy sail, but with studding-sails ready for a start, if necessary, he kept as close as possible to the French Admiral, often within half-gun-shot; and as that officer made signals to his fleet, he falsified them by additional guns, lights, and rockets. At half-past eight, when the French ships were observed coming round the Saintes, he made sail to the north-west, with a light at each mast-head, constantly making signals for Sir J. Colpoys, by firing a gun every quarter of an hour, throwing up rockets, and burning blue lights. At midnight, having received no answer, he tacked, and stood to the southward until six o'clock. Still seeing nothing of the Admiral, though he had sailed over all his cruizing ground, he sent off the Duke of York, hired armed lugger, to England, with despatches, intending to remain with the Indefatigable, and take part in the expected battle. But reflecting on the importance of conveying the information quickly to

England, with the uncertainty of its being carried safely by so small a vessel; and assured that the Revolutionaire, which he had again spoke that morning, would not fail to meet Sir J. Colpoys, he gave up the hope of distinction to a sense of duty, and made sail for Falmouth. He arrived late in the evening of the 20th.

If Lord Bridport had been waiting at Falmouth, with discretional powers, Sir Edward having been instructed to communicate directly with him, he might have sailed early on the 21st, and found the enemy in Bantry Bay, where, perhaps, not a ship would have escaped him. It is, however, to be remembered that as the destination of the French armament was unknown to the last, the Admiralty might very properly determine that he should receive his final instructions from themselves, and therefore would keep the fleet at Spithead for the convenience of ready communication.

On the 25th, Lord Bridport got under way. The enemy had arrived four days before, and if the weather had allowed the troops to land, the most complete naval victory would have been too late to save the country. Five of the heaviest ships were disabled before they could leave the harbour. The Prince missed stays, and fell on board the Sans Pareil. The Formidable ran foul

of the Ville de Paris; and the Atlas grounded. Four of these were three-deckers, and the other was one of the finest 80-gun ships in the service. When at length part of the fleet reached St. Helens, a shift of wind kept the rest at Spithead; and the Admiral could not put to sea till the 3d of January. The baffled enemy was then returning, and seven of his ships had actually arrived in Brest two days before the British sailed from Portsmouth to pursue them.

How Sir J. Colpoys missed the enemy may appear extraordinary. The explanation which every circumstance tends to confirm, is, that he was restrained from attacking them by his instructions, his force being intended only for a squadron of observation: for though the enemy's fleet, as it actually sailed, would have given him an easy victory, there was always reason to believe that it was much too strong for his force. Exclusive of the five sail which were hourly expected from Toulon, there were twenty-four line-of-battle ships in Brest, and there was no reason to conclude but that the greater part, if not the whole of them, were to sail with the expedition. As the British would be so much outnumbered, Sir E. Pellew offered, in the event of a battle, to take a place in the line with the Indefatigable.

The Admiral thanked him, but declined the offer, believing that the enemy's superiority was too great to hope for victory. When the enemy put to sea, the British fleet was eight or nine leagues to the westward of their usual cruizing ground, and thus was missed, not only by the Indefatigable, but also by the Revolutionaire, which did not join with the information till the 19th. Next day, the Toulon ships were seen, and chased into port; and the Admiral, having no means of learning the course of the Brest fleet, and some of his own ships being obliged to part company, in consequence of injuries they had sustained in the gale, bore away with the remainder for Spithead.

Meantime, almost everything favoured the enemy. The two divisions of his fleet, which were separated on the evening of the 16th, by putting to sea through different passages, rejoined on the 19th, and reached their destination early on the 21st, without having met a single British cruizer. When they appeared off the Bay, a number of pilot-boats came out, supposing them to be a British fleet; and thus the French Admiral obtained pilots for his ships, and gained all the information he wanted of the British men-of-war on the coast. A line-of-battle ship and three frigates were still

missing. Their absence would not have materially weakened the enemy, whose force still exceeded what the rebel delegates had required; but that the two commanders had embarked in one of the missing frigates, the Fraternité; and Rear-Admiral Bouvet and General Grouchy, the seconds in command, could scarcely act with decision while their chiefs were hourly expected.

The Fraternité, with the other three ships in company, was very near the fleet on the 20th, but it was concealed from her by a fog; and a gale which dispersed the fog, separated her from her consorts. Proceeding alone to the Bay, she had nearly reached it on the 21st, when she fell in with a British frigate, which she mistook for one of her own fleet till she was almost within gun-shot. Night saved her from capture, but the chase had carried her far to the westward, and it was eight days before she obtained a fair wind to return.

The ships continued beating up to Bearhaven against a fresh easterly breeze, until the evening of the 22d, when the Rear-Admiral anchored off the eastern extremity of Great Bear Island, with eight sail of the line, two frigates, and some smaller vessels. Seven sail of the line, and eight

frigates, kept under sail; and the wind rising in the night, blew them all off to sea.

It blew hard, with a heavy sea, through the next day and night. On the 24th, the weather having moderated, it was determined in a council of war to land the remaining troops immediately, and General Grouchy made a formal requisition for that purpose. A suitable landing-place was found, and the necessary preparations were completed; but it was now late in the afternoon, and the landing was necessarily deferred until morning. That night the gale rose from the eastward, and increased through the next day to a tempest. At length the ships began to drive from their anchors. The Indomptable, 80, ran foul of the Resolue frigate, and totally dismasted her. The other frigate, the Immortalité, in which Rear-Admiral Bouvet had embarked, though his proper flag-ship was the Droits de l'Homme, parted one of her cables in the evening, and was obliged to cut the other, and run out to sea. The weather would not allow her to return until the 29th, and then the Rear-Admiral, hopeless of re-assembling the fleet, decided to proceed to Brest.

Others were less fortunate. The Tortue frigate, two corvettes, and four transports were taken.

The Surveillante frigate was wrecked, and a transport foundered in the bay; and a third frigate, l'Impatiente, was driven on shore near Crookhaven. The sailors determined to secure for themselves alone the means of escape, leaving the troops to their fate. Where such a feeling could exist, the discipline required for their own safety was not likely to be found; and all perished but seven, who were saved chiefly by the exertions of the people on shore.

Part of the fleet, after having been blown out of the bay, steered for the Shannon, which had been fixed on as a rendezvous in the event of separation; but they were too few to attempt a landing, and after waiting for a short time in hope of reinforcements, they found it necessary to return.

The Fraternité, with the two commanders-in-chief, continued to beat against an easterly gale till the 29th, when the wind became fair for the bay. Standing towards it, she fell in with the Scevola, rasé, in a sinking state, with the Revolution, 74, engaged in taking out the people. She assisted to save them, and the two ships continued their course towards Ireland, hoping to fall in with so many of the fleet as might enable them still to make a descent. But next day, not having seen any of them, and their provisions becoming short,

they steered for France. On the 8th of January, they were very near eleven of their ships, which they would presently have joined, but that they altered their course, to avoid two British frigates, the Unicorn and Doris, which at the time were actually being chased by the French. Next day they again fell in with the frigates, and on the morning of the 10th they were chased by Lord Bridport's fleet, from which they narrowly escaped. On the 14th they entered Rochefort, the last of the returning ships.

Such was the fate of an expedition, in which nothing was neglected which foresight could suggest, and nothing wanting which ability could supply; whose fortune attended it until success might be deemed secure, and whose defeat was attended with circumstances too extraordinary to be referred to common causes. History records no event, not attended by direct miracle, in which God's providence is more strikingly displayed. The forces of atheism and popery had joined to overthrow a nation, the stronghold of Christian truth, and the bulwark of Protestant Europe. In this, so emphatically a holy war, no earthly arm was allowed to achieve the triumph. Human agency was put aside, and all human defences prostrated; and then, when the unresisted invader

touched the object of his hope, the elements were commissioned against him. That the vigilance of a blockading force should be so eluded, and that unusual misfortunes should prevent a fleet from sailing till nothing remained for it to do: that the enemy's two commanders should be separated from their force when it sailed, and afterwards prevented, by so many well-timed casualties, from rejoining it: that when the fleet had actually arrived in the destined port, half should be blown out to sea again before they could anchor, and the rest driven from their anchors before they could land the troops: that the returning ships should be prevented from meeting their commanders: and that every disappointment should just anticipate the moment of success: — such a combination of circumstances it were folly and impiety to ascribe to any thing less than the hand of God.

A victory would have saved the Country, but it would not have afforded such ground for assured confidence in her future trials. This deliverance was a pledge of protection through the terrible struggle of the next twenty years; when, long disappointed in her hopes, and at length deserted by her last ally, England still maintained her good cause with a firmness more honourable to her character, than even the unrivalled triumph she

achieved. It remains a pledge, that amidst all dangers, she may perform her duty as a Christian Country, in full reliance upon God's blessing; or, should the greatness of her trials confound all human resources, that she may wait in quietness and confidence for God's deliverance.

It was Sir Edward Pellew's fortune, as he had been prominent in the services connected with the sailing of this armament, to mark the return of it by a battle, the only one fought, and equally singular in its circumstances, and appalling in its result. He put to sea with the Indefatigable and Amazon on the 22d, and supposing the enemy to have gone to the southward, cruised off Capes Ortugal and Finisterre until the 11th of January. On the 2d, the Amazon carried away her main-topmast, and on the 11th, in a squall, the Indefatigable sprung her main-topmast and topsail-yard, and was obliged to shift them. Returning towards the Channel, on the 13th of January, at a little past noon, the ships being about fifty leagues south-west of Ushant, and the wind blowing hard from the westward, with thick weather, a sail was discovered in the north-west. Sail was made in chase, and by four o'clock, the stranger, at first supposed to be a frigate, as she had no poop, was clearly made out to be a French two-decker.

The enemy's ship, the Droits de l'Homme, commanded by Commodore, ci-devant Baron Lacrosse, was one of those which had proceeded to the Shannon, after having been blown out of Bantry Bay. She was the flag-ship of Rear-Admiral Bouvet, but this officer, according to a frequent practice of French admirals, had embarked in a frigate. General Humbert, who commanded one of the expeditions to Ireland in 1798, had taken his passage in her. That morning she had arrived within twenty-five leagues of Belleisle, and as the weather appeared threatening, she stood to the southward, fearing to approach nearer to the shore. Early in the afternoon, she saw two large ships at a short distance to windward, probably the Revolution and Fraternité, but not waiting to ascertain their character, she made sail from them to the south-east. At half-past three, she first discovered on her lee bow the two frigates, which had observed her three hours before, and were now steering a course nearly parallel to her own, to cut her off from the land.

The wind had now increased to a gale, and the sea was fast rising. At half-past four, the enemy carried away her fore and main-topmasts in a heavy squall. At three-quarters past five, the Indefatigable came up with her, and having

shortened sail to close-reefed topsails, poured in a broadside as she crossed her stern. The enemy returned it from some of the upper deck guns, and by showers of musketry from the troops, of whom there were nearly a thousand on board. So close were the ships, that some of the Indefatigable's people tore away the enemy's ensign, which became entangled in the mizen rigging. The Indefatigable then tried to pass a-head, and gain a position on the enemy's bow, but the line-of-battle ship avoided this, and attempted, but without success, to lay the frigate on board, actually grazing the Indefatigable's spanker-boom.

The British frigate engaged the line-of-battle ship single-handed for more than an hour, before her consort, which was several miles a-stern when the action commenced, could get up to assist her. At length, reaching the enemy, the Amazon poured a broadside into her quarter, and then, with the Commodore, maintained the engagement until about half-past seven, when the Indefatigable found it necessary to repair her rigging, and both frigates shot a-head.

At a little past eight, the frigates renewed the action, and placing themselves one on either bow of the Droits de l'Homme, raked her alternately. The seventy-four brought her guns to bear upon

one or the other of her antagonists as well as she could, and occasionally attempted, but without success, to close. At half-past ten, her mizen-mast was shot away, when the frigates changed their position, and attacked her on either quarter. Soon after, she began to fire shells. The gale continued all night, with a very heavy sea, and the violent motion of the ships made the labour of the crews most excessive. On the main-deck of the Indefatigable, the men were often to the middle in water. Some of her guns broke their breechings four times; others drew the ringbolts, and from some the charge was obliged to be drawn after loading, in consequence of the water beating into them. But under these most trying circumstances, the crew did their duty nobly. The Amazon, being a smaller ship, experienced still greater difficulties than the Indefatigable. She emulated her consort most gallantly, and suffered a greater loss. Her masts and rigging were very much damaged; her mizen-topmast, gaff, spanker-boom, and main-topsail-yard being entirely shot away; the main and foremast, and the fore and main-yards wounded in several places by large shot; many of her shrouds, stays, and backstays shot away, besides those which had been knotted and stoppered in the action; all

her spare cordage was expended in reeving running rigging, and she had three feet water in the hold. The loss of men in both ships was remarkably small. The Amazon had three killed, and fifteen badly wounded; and the Indefatigable, though she had so long fought the seventy-four single-handed, had only her first lieutenant and eighteen men wounded; twelve of them slightly, and the two worst cases from accidents. The enemy had suffered very much. Her lower deck guns were nearer the water than is usual in line-of-battle ships, and in consequence of the heavy sea, she could use them only occasionally. From this cause, as well as from the excellent positions maintained by the frigates, and her crippled state through the latter part of the action, she could make but a very unequal return to their fire. More than a hundred of her people were killed, a severe loss, yet small compared to what it must have been, from the crowded state of her decks, and the unprecedented length of the action, if the darkness, the heavy gale, and the consequent motion of the ships, had not made the firing slow, and the aim uncertain.

It was nearly eleven hours from the commencement of the action, when Lieutenant Bell, who was quartered on the forecastle, and who had

kept the ship's reckoning through the night, satisfied himself that they were near the French coast, and ordered one or two sailors to keep a good look-out. One of these men thought he saw land, and reported it to his officer; who, perceiving it distinctly, went aft, and told the captain. Immediately the tacks were hauled on board, and the Indefatigable stood to the southward, after making the night signal of danger to the Amazon, which, with equal promptitude, wore to the northward. The enemy, who did not yet see the danger, thought they had beaten off the frigates, and poured a broadside into the Indefatigable, the most destructive she had yet received. Seven shot struck her hull, the three lower masts were wounded, and the larboard main-topmast shrouds were all cut away close to the seizings of the eyes at the mast-head. It required extraordinary activity and coolness to save the top-mast, the loss of which, at that time, would have made that of the ship inevitable. Under the direction of Mr. Gaze, who immediately sprang aloft, the captain of the main-top cut away the top-gallant-yard; while Mr. Thomson, acting master, got up the end of a hawser, which he clinched around the mast-head. Thus they saved the main-topmast, and probably prevented the mainmast itself from

being sprung. Mr. Gaze, who received a master's warrant a few weeks after, continued with Lord Exmouth to the last day of his command. He was master of the fleet in the Mediterranean, and it was he who carried the Queen Charlotte in such admirable style to her position at Algiers.

None at this time knew how desperate was their situation. The ships were in the Bay of Audierne, close in with the surf, with the wind blowing a heavy gale dead on the shore, and a tremendous sea rolling in. To beat off the land would have been a difficult and doubtful undertaking for the best and most perfect ship. The Indefatigable had four feet water in the hold, and her safety depended on her wounded spars and damaged rigging bearing the press of sail she was obliged to carry; while the crew, thus summoned to renewed exertion, were already quite worn out with fatigue. The fate of the other ships was certain; for the Amazon had all her principal sails disabled, and the Droits de l'Homme was unmanageable.

The Indefatigable continued standing to the southward, until the captain of the mizen-top gave the alarm of breakers on the lee bow. The ship was immediately wore in eighteen fathoms, and she stood to the northward till half-past six, when

land was again seen close a-head on the weather bow, with breakers under the lee. Running again to the southward, she passed the Droits de l'Homme, lying on her broadside in the surf, at the distance of about a mile, but without the possibility of giving the smallest assistance. Her own situation, indeed, was almost hopeless; and Sir Edward Pellew himself was deeply affected, when, all having been done which seamanship could accomplish, he could only commit to a merciful Providence the lives of his gallant crew, all now depending upon one of the many accidents to the masts and rigging which there was so much reason to apprehend. Happily, the sails stood well; the Indefatigable continued to gain by every tack; and at eleven o'clock, with six feet water in her hold, she passed about three-quarters of a mile to windward of the Penmarcks; enabling her officers and men, after a day and night of incessant exertion, at length to rest from their toil, and to bless God for their deliverance.

She had scarcely bent new topsails and foresail, the others having been shot to pieces, when two large ships were seen at some distance a-head, crossing her course, and standing in a direction for l'Orient. One of them was at first supposed to be the Amazon, of which nothing had been seen

since the close of the action, and the extent of whose damages was not at all suspected. The other was considered to be a French frigate, and Sir Edward gave orders to make sail in chase. But the officers represented to him that the crew, entirely exhausted by the unparalleled length of the action, and by their subsequent labours, were quite incapable of further exertion; that their ammunition was very short, scarcely a cartridge filled, and every wad expended. Had the French frigate been alone, this would have been a subject for much regret; for she was the Fraternité, with the two commanders-in-chief and all the treasure of the expedition on board; but her consort was the 74-gun ship Revolution.

The Amazon struck the ground about ten minutes after she ceased firing. Her crew displayed the admirable discipline which British seamen are accustomed to maintain under such circumstances; more creditable to them, if possible, than the seamanship which saved the Indefatigable. From half-past five until nine o'clock, they were employed in making rafts, and not a man was lost, or attempted to leave the ship, except six, who stole away the cutter from the stern, and were drowned. Captain Reynolds and his officers remained by the ship until they had safely landed, first the

wounded, and afterwards every man of the crew. Of course they were made prisoners, but they were treated well, and exchanged not many months after.

Conduct like that of the Amazon's people in their hour of extreme danger — and it is nothing more than British seamen commonly display in the same situation — makes an Englishman proud of his Country. Nor should it be forgotten, for it exalts the feeling of patriotism and honest pride, that a man-of-war's crew at that time was made up, in part, of the lowest characters in society. What, then, must be the strength and excellence of that moral feeling in England, which can display itself thus nobly where it would be the least expected! The fact conveys an impressive lesson; for if the intelligence, decision, and kindness, which, with few exceptions, characterize our sea-officers, can effect such happy results where they operate on the most unpromising materials, it is clear that whatever faults the lower classes in England display must be attributed, in a great degree, to the neglect or misconduct of those, whose station in society, as it gives the power, imposes the duty to guide them.

The fate of the Droits de l'Homme presents an awful contrast indeed to that of the Amazon.

She saw the land soon after the frigates hauled off, and after hopeless attempts, first to avoid it, and afterwards to anchor, she struck the ground almost at the same moment as the British frigate. The main-mast went overboard at the second shock: the fore-mast and bowsprit had fallen a few minutes before, in her attempt to keep off the land. When danger was first seen, the crew gave an alarm to the English prisoners below, of whom there were fifty-five, the crew and passengers of a letter-of-marque, which the Droits de l'Homme had taken a few days before: "Poor English, come up quickly; we are all lost!" Presently the ship struck on a bank of sand, nearly opposite the town of Plouzenec. Cries of dismay were now heard from every part. Signals of distress were fired, and several of the guns hove overboard. Many of the people were soon washed away by the waves, which broke incessantly over her. At daylight the shore was seen covered with spectators, but they could afford no assistance. In the meantime the stern was beaten in by the sea, and no provisions or water could afterwards be obtained.

At low water an attempt was made to reach the shore, but two boats, which were brought alongside, drifted away, and were dashed to pieces on

the rocks. A small raft was constructed to carry a hawser to the shore, by the aid of which it was hoped that preparations might be completed for safely landing the people. A few sailors having embarked on it, the rope was gradually slackened to allow it to drift to land; but some of these people being washed away, the rest became alarmed, cast off the hawser, and saved themselves. After a second unsuccessful attempt with a raft, a petty officer attached a cord to his body, and tried to swim on shore; but he was soon exhausted, and would have perished, but that he was hauled back to the ship.

On the second day, at low water, an English captain and eight other prisoners launched a small boat, and landed safely. Their success justly restored confidence to the multitude, proving, as it did, how easily all might be saved, if proper means were quietly adopted. But discipline and order were wanting; and attempts made without judgment, and without concert, ended in the loss of all who made them.

Perishing with cold, and thirst, and hunger, for the ship, her stern now broken away, no longer afforded shelter from the waves, and they had tasted nothing since she struck, the unhappy

crew saw a third day arise upon their miseries. Still the gale continued, and there was no prospect of relief from the shore. It was now determined to construct a large raft, and first to send away the surviving wounded, with the women, and children, in a boat which remained. But as soon as she was brought alongside, there was a general rush, and about a hundred and twenty threw themselves into her. Their weight carried down the boat; next moment an enormous wave broke upon them, and when the sea became smoother, their corpses were seen floating all around. An officer, Adjutant-General Renier, attempted to swim on shore, hoping that a knowledge of their condition might enable the spectators to devise some means for their deliverance. He plunged into the sea and was lost.

"Already nearly nine hundred had perished," says Lieutenant Pipon, an officer of the 63d regiment, who was on board a prisoner, and who afterwards published the dreadful story*, "when the fourth night came with renewed terrors. Weak, distracted, and wanting everything, we envied the fate of those whose lifeless corpses no longer needed sustenance. The sense of hunger

* Naval Chronicle, Vol. viii. p. 467.

was already lost, but a parching thirst consumed our vitals. Recourse was had to wine and salt water, which only increased the want. Half a hogshead of vinegar floated up, and each had half a wine-glassful. This gave a momentary relief, yet soon left us again in the same state of dreadful thirst. Almost at the last gasp, every one was dying with misery: the ship, which was now one-third shattered away from the stern, scarcely afforded a grasp to hold by, to the exhausted and helpless survivors. The fourth day brought with it a more serene sky, and the sea seemed to subside; but to behold, from fore-and-aft, the dying in all directions, was a sight too shocking for the feeling mind to endure. Almost lost to a sense of humanity, we no longer looked with pity on those who were the speedy fore-runners of our own fate, and a consultation took place to sacrifice some one to be food for the remainder. The die was going to be cast, when the welcome sight of a man-of-war brig renewed our hopes. A cutter speedily followed, and both anchored at a short distance from the wreck. They then sent their boats to us; and by means of large rafts, about a hundred and fifty, of near four hundred who attempted it, were saved by the brig that evening. Three hundred and eighty were left to endure

another night's misery, when, dreadful to relate, above one-half were found dead next morning."

Commodore Lacrosse, General Humbert, and three British infantry officers, prisoners, remained in the wreck till the fifth morning; and all survived: so great is the influence of moral power to sustain through extreme hardships. The prisoners were treated with the utmost kindness, and in consideration for their sufferings, and the help they had afforded in saving many lives, a cartel was fitted out by order of the French Government to send them home, without ransom or exchange. They arrived at Plymouth on the 7th of March following.

The Admiralty awarded head-money to the frigates for the destruction of the Droits de l'Homme. As there were no means of knowing her complement with certainty, Sir Edward wrote to Commodore Lacrosse to request the information, telling him that it was the practice of his Government to award a certain sum for every man belonging to an enemy's armed vessel taken, or destroyed. The Commodore answered, that the Droits de l'Homme had been neither taken nor destroyed, but that the ships had fought like three dogs till they all fell over the cliff together. Her crew,

with the troops, he said, was sixteen hundred men.

The gallant captain of the Amazon, one of the earliest and closest friends of Sir Edward Pellew, perished at length by a not less distressing shipwreck. At the end of 1811, being then a Rear-Admiral, he was returning from the Baltic in the St. George, a ship not calculated to remain so late on such a station. After having received much damage in a former gale, she was wrecked on Christmas-day, as well as the Defence, which attended her to afford the assistance she required; and only eighteen men were saved from the two line-of-battle ships. Rear-Admiral Reynolds and his captain remained at their post till they sunk under the inclemency of a northern winter; when, stretched on the quarter-deck, and hand in hand, they were frozen to death together.

CHAPTER VI.

In less than four years, Sir Edward had fought as many severe actions; and the number of his successes is even less remarkable than the very small loss with which he generally obtained them. Against the Cleopatra, indeed, where he engaged a superior and skilful opponent with an inexperienced crew, he suffered much; but he lost only three men in taking the Pomone, and none in his actions with the Virginie, and the Droits de l'Homme. The same impunity continued to attend him; for not a dozen were killed on board his own ships, through all the rest of his life.* Results so uniform, and applying to so long a period, cannot be ascribed to accidental causes.

* Quiberon Bay, one killed in the boats; landing at Ferrol, none; Batavia Roads, one killed in the boats; Griessee, none; skirmishes off Toulon, one killed by accident; Algiers, eight.

By his seamanship, his example, a strictness which suffered no duty to be neglected, and a kindness which allowed every safe indulgence, he would quickly bring a ship's company to a high state of discipline. In the language of an officer who served with him for almost thirty years:— "No man ever knew better how to manage seamen. He was very attentive to their wants and habits. When he was a captain, he personally directed them; and when the duty was over, he was a great promoter of dancing, and other sports, such as running aloft, heaving the lead, &c., in which he was himself a great proficient. He was steady in his discipline, and knew well the proper time to tighten or relax. He studied much the character of his men, and could soon ascertain whether a man was likely to appreciate forgiveness, or whether he could not be reclaimed without punishment. During the whole time he commanded frigates, his men had leave in port, one-third at a time, and very rarely a desertion took place."

His quick and correct judgment, which at once saw how an object could be attained, was seconded in the hour of trial, by a decision which secured every advantage. Nothing like hesitation was seen in him. "His first order," said an

officer who long served with him, "was always his last;" and he has often declared of himself, that he never had a second thought worth sixpence. This would be an absurd boast from a common character, but it is an important declaration from one whose life was a career of enterprise without a failure. Always equal to the occasion, his power displayed itself the more, as danger and difficulty increased; when rising with the emergency, his calmness, the animation of his voice and look, and the precision of his orders, would impart to the men that cool and determined energy which disarms danger, and commands success.

Not less striking was his influence in those more appalling dangers, which try the firmness of a sailor more severely than the battle. The wreck of the Dutton is a memorable example. At a later period, during his command in India, the ship twice caught fire, and was saved chiefly by his conduct. On one of these occasions, the Culloden was under easy sail off the coast of Coromandel, and preparations had been made for partially caulking the ship, when a pitch-kettle, which had been heated, contrary to orders, on the fore part of the main-deck, caught fire, and the people most imprudently attempted to extinguish

it with buckets of water. The steam blew the flaming pitch all around; the oakum caught fire, and the ship was immediately in a blaze. Many of the crew jumped overboard, and others were preparing to hurry out of her, when the presence and authority of the Admiral allayed the panic. He ordered to beat to quarters; the marines to fire upon any one who should attempt to leave the ship; the yard-tackles to be cut, to prevent the boats from being hoisted out; and the firemen only to take the necessary measures for extinguishing the fire. The captain, who was undressed in his cabin at the time of the disaster, received an immediate report of it from an officer, and hastened to the quarter-deck. He found the Admiral calmly giving his orders from the gangway, the firemen exerting themselves, and the rest of the crew at their quarters; all as quiet and orderly as if nothing had been going on but the common ship's duty.

His patronage was exerted to the utmost. The manner in which the navy was chiefly manned through the war, made this one of the most delicate and responsible parts of a captain's care. The impress brought into it many whom nothing but the strictest discipline of a man-of-war would control, but many also who had entered the

merchant-service with the view and the prospect of rising in it, some of whom were not inferior in connexions and education to the young gentlemen on the quarter-deck. Nothing could be more gratifying to a commander than to promote these, as opportunity offered, to higher stations. Some thousands of them became petty and warrant officers in the course of the war; and not a few were placed on the quarter-deck, and are found among the best officers in the service. Sir Edward brought forward many of them; and his favour has been more than justified by their conduct.

He was particularly attentive to the junior part of his crew. A steady person was employed to teach the ship's boys, and he always had the best schoolmaster who could be obtained for the young gentlemen. It was an object much desired to be placed with him; and could he have stooped to make his reputation subservient to his interest in this respect, he might have secured many useful political connexions; but this consideration never seems to have influenced him. Many of his midshipmen had no friend but himself; and rank obtained no immunities, but rather a more strict control. He once removed from his ship a young nobleman of high connexions, and who afterwards became a very distinguished officer,

for indulging in what many would consider the excusable frolics of youth; but to which he attached importance, because the rank of the party increased the influence of the example: nor could he be induced by the young man's friends to reconsider his determination. The Duke of Northumberland, who had himself known all the duties and hardships of service, could appreciate the impartial strictness of Sir Edward; and when he determined to send into the navy, first, a young man whom he patronised, and afterwards his own son, he was happy to avail himself of the services of Captain Schanck, to place them with such an officer. Acting upon the same principle, he would allow neither of them more than the usual expenses of the other midshipmen; for he said that all who entered a public service, whatever their rank, should have no indulgences beyond their companions. His sense of Sir Edward's conduct was shown in a warm friendship, which terminated only with his life.

In a few weeks after the action with the Droits de l'Homme, the mutiny broke out at Spithead, which deprived the Country for a short time of the services of the Channel Fleet. The western squadrons were now of peculiar importance, for they became, in fact, the protectors of the

Channel. The Cleopatra, commanded by the late excellent Sir Charles V. Penrose, was at Spithead when the mutiny took place; but the good disposition of his crew enabled him with admirable address to escape, and she joined Sir Edward's squadron at Falmouth. Thence she sailed with the Indefatigable and Revolutionaire on a cruise, in which all displayed extraordinary exertion, as, under such circumstances, all felt the necessity for it. One incident will mark their zeal and activity. The Cleopatra carried away her fore-top-mast in chase, but replaced it so quickly, that she never lost sight of the privateer, which she overtook and captured. Several armed vessels were taken; and Sir Edward was careful often to run in with the squadron upon different parts of the French coast, that he might impress the belief that a considerable British force was at sea.

Undismayed by the failure of their attempt on Ireland, the enemy were now preparing for a more formidable descent. They equipped a larger fleet than before, with a far more numerous army, over which they appointed the same able commander: and by an agreement with Holland, the Dutch fleet in the Texel, under Admiral de Winter, was to carry over a second army. This was to be

commanded by General Daendels, an officer of great ability and decision. Napoleon thought very highly of him, and it was a material part of his own plan of invasion to send him with thirty thousand chosen troops to Ireland. He afterwards became Governor of Java, where he acted with an independence which awakened the jealousy of his master. Discovering this, he wrote to declare that he could hold the island against any force which France, or even England, could bring against him; but that to mark his devotedness to his Emperor, he was ready to resign his command, and serve in the French army as a corporal. He was Governor of Mons during the invasion of France by the Allied armies; and he boasted to Mr. Pellew, who spent a few days with him after the peace, that an advancing army made a considerable circuit to avoid him, and that he held the fortress unmolested until Napoleon had abdicated; when he wrote to the Allied Sovereigns, asking to whom he should resign it. An invasion of Ireland, directed by generals, such as Hoche and Daendels, and at a time when the British navy was in a state of mutiny, was an event justly to be dreaded; but all these mighty preparations were overturned more easily and quietly than the former. Every thing was ready; and

General Hoche had gone to Holland to make the final arrangements with his brother commanders, when the Legislative Assembly of France quarrelled with the Directory, and gained a temporary ascendancy. On the 16th of July, the new government displaced Vice-Admiral Truguet, the able Minister of Marine, and appointed M. Pléville le Peley, his successor. With the usual madness of party, the new minister and his employers hastened to overturn all that had been done by their predecessors. They discharged the sailors, dismantled the fleet, and even sold some of the frigates and corvettes by public auction. When the Directory regained their power, September 4th, after an interval of only six weeks, they found that the preparations which had cost them so much time and treasure to complete, were utterly destroyed. In the following month, Admiral Duncan annihilated the Dutch fleet, and thus the proposed expedition was baffled at every point. Were a history of England written with due regard to the operations of Divine Providence, in deliverances and successes effected not by human wisdom, or human strength, what cause would it afford for unbounded gratitude, and for unbounded confidence!

While the enemy were fitting out this armament, Sir Edward was again employed to watch the harbour of Brest; a service which he performed so much to the annoyance of the French commander, that he sent a squadron to ride at single anchor in Bertheaume bay, to prevent the frigates from reconnoitring the port. This squadron chased the Indefatigable and her consorts repeatedly, but without being able to bring them to action, or to drive them from their station. Once, however, a frigate narrowly escaped capture. The Cleopatra was becalmed close inshore, with the Indefatigable about two miles to seaward, and another frigate between them, when a light air rose, and freshened off the land. The French ships slipped, and bringing the breeze with them, neared the Cleopatra; and a frigate actually succeeded in cutting off her retreat, while a seventy-four was fast coming up. Just then, when the capture of the Cleopatra seemed inevitable, the Indefatigable made the well-known signal for a fleet, by letting fly the sheets, and firing two guns in quick succession. Ushant being on her weather bow, the enemy naturally supposed, as was intended, that the British fleet was coming up from behind the island; and putting about immediately, hastened back to their anchorage. A

similar deception is understood to have been practised successfully by the Phaëton, during the celebrated retreat of Cornwallis; nor is it in either casé an imputation upon the enemy, that they should readily take alarm, when they knew that a British fleet was cruising near them.

Early in August, the Indefatigable, after a short stay in England, was again at her station off Brest; and Sir Edward, having carefully observed the port, and fully satisfied himself of the state of the French fleet, returned to Falmouth on the 14th, and on the 26th, joined Lord Bridport at Torbay. At this time, he offered to conduct an attack which, had it been made, and with success, would have transcended the most brilliant results of naval enterprise. The weakness of the French government, arising out of the struggle of parties for the ascendancy, seemed to offer a favourable opportunity to the royalists, with whose chiefs Sir Edward was on terms of confidential intercourse; and to assist them in their objects by an exploit which should strike terror into the republicans, he proposed to go into Brest with his frigates, and destroy the dismantled fleet. He thought it probable that he should succeed, and urged that the greatness of the object might warrant an attempt in which nothing was to be risked

but a few frigates. The conception was in the highest degree daring, but there is a faith in naval affairs which works impossibilities, and it has been generally found, that the officer who can plan a bold action, has shown himself equal to accomplish it. Relative strength is almost thrown out of calculation, by a well concerted and unexpected attack, conducted with that impetuosity which effects its object, before the enemy can avail himself of his superior force. Thus Sir Charles Brisbane, with four frigates, at Curaçoa, and Sir Christopher Cole, with a few boats' crews, at Banda, achieved, with little or no loss, what would have been justly deemed proud triumphs for a fleet of line-of-battle ships. Sir E. Pellew was never a man to commit himself rashly to what he had not well considered. "There is always uncertainty," he would say, "in naval actions, for a chance shot may place the best-managed ship in the power of an inferior opponent." Hence he would leave nothing to chance, which foresight could possibly provide for. With such a character, and with his intimate knowledge of Brest and its defences, which were almost as familiar to him as Falmouth harbour, his own confidence affords strong presumption that he would have succeeded.

The First Lord took an opportunity to submit this proposal to Lord Bridport at Torbay; and Sir Edward was in consequence called on board the flag-ship by signal. The Admiral received him on the quarter-deck with a very low and formal bow, and referred him to Earl Spencer, in the cabin, whom he soon found not to be influenced by any arguments he could employ.

Lord Bridport was never pleased that independent frigate squadrons were appointed to cruise within his station. It was, indeed, an irregularity, which nothing but the emergency would have justified, when it was desirable to relieve the commander-in-chief from lesser responsibilities, and enable him to devote all his attention to the fleet which threatened the safety of the Country. Their successes had made the squadrons so popular, that the system was continued when they might have been placed, with equal advantage, under the orders of the Admiral; and it would naturally give pain to that officer to find himself denied the privilege of recognising and rewarding the most brilliant services performed within his own command. Lord Bridport would occasionally evince such a feeling, when speaking of the "Western Commodores;" and it may have influenced his manner upon this occasion: but his

approval of Sir Edward's plan was not to be expected, for he would scarcely sanction the proposal to effect with a few frigates, what it would not be thought prudent to attempt with a fleet.

The Indefatigable sailed from Torbay with a convoy, from which she parted company on the 13th of October, off the Isle of Palma. On the 25th, near Teneriffe, a large corvette chased her, supposing her to be an Indiaman, and approached very near before she discovered the mistake. She had formerly been the frigate-built sloop Hyæna, which the enemy had taken very early in the war, and cut down to a flush ship; a change which improved her sailing qualities so much, that she might perhaps have escaped from the Indefatigable, if she had not lost her fore-topmast in carrying a press of sail. It is remarkable, that in this war Sir Edward took the first ship from the enemy, and after nearly five years, recaptured the first they had taken from the British.

It was a part of Sir Edward's system, while he commanded cruising ships, to have the reefs shaken out, the studding-sail booms rigged out, and every thing ready, before day-light; that if an enemy should be near, there might be no delay in making sail. In the course of 1798, his squadron took fifteen cruisers. The circumstances

connected with one of these, la Vaillante national corvette, taken on the 8th of August by the Indefatigable, after a chase of twenty-four hours, were of more than common interest. She was bound to Cayenne, with prisoners; among whom were twenty-five priests, who had been condemned for their principles to perish in that unhealthy colony. It may well be supposed that they were at once restored to liberty and comfort; nor would Sir Edward show to the commander of his prize the attentions which an officer in his situation expects, until he had first satisfied himself that the severe and unnecessary restraint to which they had been subjected, for he found them chained together, was the consequence of express orders from the French government. His officers and men vied with him in attentions to the unfortunate exiles, and when he set them on shore in England, he gave them a supply for their immediate wants. Among the passengers on board la Vaillante, were the wife and family of a banished deputy, M. Rovère, who had obtained permission to join him, and were going out with all they possessed, amounting to 3000*l.* Sir Edward restored to her the whole of it, and paid from his own purse the proportion which was the prize of his crew.

Early in the following year, the Admiralty determined to limit the period of command in frigates. In obedience to this regulation, on the 1st of March, Sir Edward, with much regret, left the ship and crew he had so long commanded, and exchanged the activity of a cruising frigate, for a service which offered little prospect of distinction. He was complimented with the Impetueux, the most beautiful, and probably the finest ship of her class; and permitted to select twenty men to follow him from the Indefatigable.

Going on board the Impetueux for the first time, he was accosted at the gangway by the boatswain:—"I am very glad, sir, that you are come to us, for you are just the captain we want. You have the finest ship in the navy, and a crew of smart sailors, but a set of the greatest scoundrels that ever went to sea." He checked him on the spot, and afterwards, sending for him to the cabin, demanded what he meant by addressing him in that manner. The boatswain, who had served with him in the Carleton on Lake Champlain, pleaded former recollections in excuse; and after submitting to the reproof with which Sir Edward thought it necessary to mark his breach of discipline, informed him that the crew were all but in a state of mutiny, and that for

months past he had slept with pistols under his head.

Mutinies were the natural fruit of the system which had prevailed in the navy, and it is only wonderful that obedience had been preserved so long. Every thing was supplied by contract, and the check upon the contractor being generally very inadequate, gross abuses prevailed. Officers who recollect the state of the navy during the first American war, can furnish a history which may now appear incredible. The provisions were sometimes unfit for human food. Casks of meat, after having been long on board, would be found actually offensive. The biscuit, from inferior quality and a bad system of stowage, was devoured by insects, until it would fall to pieces at the slightest blow; and the provisions of a more perishable nature, the cheese, butter, raisins, &c. would be in a still worse condition. Among crews thus fed, the scurvy made dreadful ravages. The Princessa, when she formed part of Rodney's fleet in the West Indies, sent two hundred men to the hospital at one time. The purser received certain authorised perquisites instead of pay, and one-eighth of the seamen's allowance was his right, so that their pound was only fourteen ounces. Prize-money melted away as it passed through

the courts and offices. Not even public charities could escape; and the noble establishment of Greenwich was disgraced, by placing in it superannuated servants and other landsmen, as worn-out sailors, and conferring the superior appointments, intended for deserving naval officers, upon political friends. The well-known case of Captain Baillie, who was removed and prosecuted for resisting some of these abuses, is a memorable illustration.

A gradual improvement in all the departments of the public service commenced from the time of Mr. Pitt's accession to power; and the worst of these abuses had been corrected long before 1797. Still so much remained, that the demands of the seamen, when they mutinied at Spithead, were not less due to themselves, than desirable for the general interests of the service. A moderate increase in their pay, and Greenwich pensions; provisions of a better quality; the substitution of trader's for purser's weight and measure; and an allowance of vegetables, instead of flour, with their fresh meat, when in port, were their chief claims. They did not resort to violent measures till petitions, irregular ones, it is true, had been tried in vain. They urged their demands firmly, but most respectfully; and they always declared

their intention to suspend the prosecution of them, if their Country should require their services to meet the enemy at sea. But though their claims were most just, and their conduct in many respects was worthy to be much commended, *that* was a mistaken conclusion, and most deeply to be regretted, which made any concession to violence. Hard as the principle may appear, no grievance can be held to justify a breach of discipline; and when the sailors at Spithead had placed themselves in the position of offenders, the question of redress ought to have been preceded by unconditional, and, if necessary, enforced submission. It was humbling the majesty of the law to negotiate with criminals, and destroying its authority to submit to them. If the sailors had first been compelled to return to their duty, and afterwards their grievances had been properly investigated and redressed, the whole fleet would have respected the authority which enforced obedience, and received every favour with gratitude. Nor is there reason to believe that it would have been difficult to bring men to their duty, whose hearts were still sound. It is most honourable to the character of the Country, that respect for the law, and obedience to constituted authorities, are so much the habit and the principle of Englishmen,

that invincible as they are in a good cause, they have always shown themselves cowards in crime. A few soldiers are sufficient to disperse the largest mob. The timely decision of an officer has seldom failed to quell the most formidable mutiny. Timorous as the men are from conscious guilt, uncertain in their plans, and doubtful of the firmness of their companions, the respect involuntarily felt for the noble bearing of a man whom they have always been accustomed to obey, and who in a good cause is standing as it were alone against a multitude, gives a commander all the power he could desire. But if he would take advantage of this feeling, he must be most prompt to assert his authority. If he waver—if he allow the men once to feel their strength, and to stand committed to one another, his influence is gone. And if Government should stoop to parley with them, it sanctions their proceedings, strengthens their hands by the confession of its own weakness, and raises them from being offenders against the law, to the dignity of injured men, honourably asserting their rights. Thus, when the Lords of the Admiralty, and the first Admiral in the British navy, received on terms of courtesy criminals whose lives were forfeited, and negotiated with them as with equals; when the Government

submitted to demands which it evidently feared to resist; and the Parliament hastened to legislate at the bidding of triumphant mutineers, the navy was taught a fatal lesson. The fleet at the Nore mutinied almost immediately after, without the shadow of a pretext; and the idea of mutiny once become familiar, the crews of the best ordered ships thought little of seeking redress for any real or fancied grievance by resisting the authority of their officers. Almost every ship on the home station mutinied in the course of the year; and considering how naturally the first fault leads to more guilty excesses; and how many worthless characters were swept into the navy, disgracing the service by making it the avowed punishment of crime, and corrupting it by their example, nothing can appear more natural than that mutiny should at length display itself in a darker character, and proceed in some unhappy instances to murder and treason.

Sir Edward Pellew deeply lamented the submission of the Government. He was satisfied that a proper firmness would have quelled the present, and prevented the future evil; and he was strengthened in his opinion by the circumstances of the mutiny on board one of the ships at Spithead; in which one of his own officers was a principal

actor. Captain Williams, of the marines, formerly lieutenant in the Arethusa, applied to his captain for authority to act, assuring him of the good disposition of his own men, and pledging himself by their means to save the ship. But his captain, though one of the bravest and best men in the service, shrank from committing the marines to a possible conflict with the sailors, and recommended a little delay. In a few minutes the marine officer returned: it was not yet too late, but not another moment could be spared. The humane feelings of the commander impelled him still to temporize, and when the marine officer returned, it was to say that his men must now save themselves, and the ship was lost. The more desperate mutiny at the Nore, was not quelled by submission.

Afterwards, when mutinies were continually occurring among the ships at Plymouth, Sir Edward proposed a very decisive measure to stop the mischief. He recommended that a ship, manned with officers, and with volunteers who could be fully trusted, should attack the next that mutinied, and if necessary, sink her in the face of the fleet. The officer who takes the first step in any measure must feel himself committed decisively to all possible consequences; but the

mere display of such a resolution, with the knowledge that a character of unflinching determination commanded the attacking ship, would most probably spare the necessity of firing a shot. Lives are commonly sacrificed only when a mistaken humanity shrinks from duty till the proper time for action has gone by. The disposition of the crews was not generally bad, but they were misled by example, and encouraged by impunity. When the Greyhound mutinied, and Captain Israel Pellew demanded if he had ever given them cause of dissatisfaction, if he had not always been their friend, they admitted that they had nothing to complain of, but said they must do like their friends around them. They would have landed him with every mark of respect; but he declared that after such conduct, not one of them should ever row him again, and he hailed a waterman to put him on shore. Still, though he had reproached them in no measured terms, they manned the side, and gave him three cheers when he left the ship.

Even Sir Edward Pellew, popular as he was, and though he might well expect that a crew which had fought with him two successful actions within the past year, would be too proud of their ship and commander ever to fail in their duty, yet

felt it necessary to take precautions when mutinies were occurring around him without the smallest reasonable cause. Determined to maintain his authority at all hazards, he prepared for the worst, and made such arrangements as he deemed would be the most effectual, if he should be compelled to the dreadful necessity of a personal conflict with his crew.

Once a mutiny was planned in the Indefatigable, but he checked it before it broke out. She was lying with the Phœbe in Falmouth harbour, and the frigates were to sail next morning, when the crews determined not to proceed to their station until they had received their pay. A sailor who had overstayed his leave came in the dead of the night to inform his commander of the plot; and assured him, that though all the crew were privy to it, more than half of them would support their officers. Sir Edward professed to discredit the information, and, apparently, took no steps in consequence. But when the ship was to be got under weigh, the lieutenant complained to him that the men were sulky, and would not go round with the capstan. He then came forward, and declaring his knowledge of their intentions, drew his sword, and ordered the officers to follow his example. "You can never die so well," he said,

" as on your own deck quelling a mutiny; and now, if a man hesitate to obey you, cut him down without a word." The crew, accustomed to prompt obedience, and attached to their officers, at once returned to their duty, and the Indefatigable was soon under sail. Presently a boat was seen pulling from the Phœbe, and Captain Barlow came on board in a state of great excitement. His people had mutinied! He begged Sir Edward to compel them to obedience, and without regarding him, rather to sink the ship, than allow them to carry their point. But Sir Edward, after his proposal had been discountenanced at Plymouth, where a severe example might have been useful, could not employ measures of coercion at Falmouth; and Captain Barlow, unable to bring his men to their duty, was obliged to allow his ship to be taken to the eastward.

The crew of the Impetueux supposed, and probably with truth, that Sir Edward was selected to command them in consequence of their known disaffected state, his frigate having been almost the only ship on the home station which had not actually mutinied. Under this impression, a mistaken pride would not allow them to be controlled, and their secret spirit of revolt became more determined. The feeling might have worn

itself out in a short time if the ship had remained at sea, for the men soon learned to respect their new commander. But when, on the 25th of April, the French fleet escaped from Brest, and sailed for the Mediterranean, the British Admiral, Lord Bridport, supposing it to have gone to Ireland, cruised for a few days off Cape Clear, and then anchored with twenty-six sail of the line in Bantry Bay. Here the bad spirits of the fleet had leisure for mischief, and facilities to communicate with one another. A general mutiny was planned, and the disgraceful distinction of setting the example was assigned to the Impetueux.

On Thursday, the 30th of May, at noon, Sir Edward, being engaged to dine with Sir Alan Gardner, had gone to dress in his cabin, leaving orders with the officer of the watch to call all hands at the usual time, one watch to clear the hause, and the other two to wash decks. When the order was given, it was obeyed by all the marines, but by scarce any of the sailors. Very shortly after, signal was made to unmoor, upon which a noise of "No—no—no," was heard from the main-hatchway, and the seamen came pressing forward in great numbers; those in the rear crying, "Go on—go on!" The first lieutenant, Ross, and Lieutenant Stokes, the

officer of the watch, demanded what was the matter; and after some murmuring, were told that there was a letter. The officers asked for it, that it might be given to the captain, but the cry of "No—no—no!" was immediately renewed. Lieutenant Ross then desired Lieutenant Stokes to inform the captain, upon which the mutineers shouted, "One, and all—one, and all!" Sir Edward instantly ran out in his dressing-gown, and found between two and three hundred on the quarter-deck. On his appearance, the clamour was increased, mingled with cries of "A boat—a boat!" He asked what was the matter, and was told they had a letter to send to Lord Bridport, complaining of tyranny, and hard usage. He demanded the letter, declaring that he would immediately carry it himself, or send an officer with it to the Admiral; but all cried out, "No, no—a boat of our own!" He persisted in his endeavours to pacify them as long as a hope remained of bringing them to reason, intreating them not to forfeit their character by such shameful conduct. But when some of the ringleaders declared with oaths that they *would* have a boat, and would take one, he quietly said, "You will, will you,"—gave a brief order to Captain Boys, of the marines, and sprang to the

cabin for his sword. The marines, who had previously withstood every attempt of the conspirators to seduce them from their duty, now displayed that unwavering loyalty, and prompt obedience, for which, in the most trying circumstances, this valuable force has always been distinguished. Sir Edward returned instantly, determined to put to death one or more of the ringleaders on the spot, but the evident irresolution of the mutineers spared him the necessity He immediately ordered the quarter-deck to be cleared, the marines to be posted on the after-part of the forecastle, and the fore-part of the quarter-deck and poop, and the sentries to be doubled. The carpenter, in the meantime, ran to Sir Edward's cabin, and brought swords for the officers, who, at the first alarm, had hastened to place themselves by their captain's side. The mutineers, after a moment's hesitation, ran off the quarter-deck, and threw themselves down the hatchways, exclaiming, to put out all lights, and remove the ladders. The officers followed them closely, and soon secured the ringleaders. Sir Edward himself seized one of the most violent, and threatening him with instant death if he resisted, dragged him up from below to the quarter-deck. The letter, an unsigned one, was now

given up, and the ship's company returned quietly to their duty. *

The plot was thus entirely disconcerted; for the crews of the other ships, who knew nothing of the attempt and its failure, but waited for the example of the Impetueux, followed her when she obeyed the Admiral's signal. On the 1st of June, Lord Bridport, who had now learned the course taken by the French fleet, sent off Sir Alan Gardner with sixteen sail, of which the Impetueux was one, as a reinforcement for Earl St. Vincent in the Mediterranean. His orders on this occasion were promptly attended to; and no other attempt was made by any of the crews to resist the authority of their officers.

The Impetueux being now for a short time under Earl St. Vincent's command, Sir Edward took the earliest opportunity to enforce the application for a court-martial, which he had previously made to Sir Charles Cotton. The Earl, upon inquiry, was so startled at the magnitude of the plot, that he thought it better, as the mutiny had been so promptly suppressed, to conceal it altogether. Sir Edward differed from him entirely. He considered that the worst effects would follow, if the

* Appendix, E.

men were allowed to think that their officers feared to punish the ringleaders in such a conspiracy; and as the Earl, who was on the point of resigning the command from ill-health, appeared still reluctant, he decided the question by declaring that if the court-martial were not granted, he should immediately go on shore. Accordingly, it was held on board the Prince, in Port Mahon, on the 19th and 20th of June, when three of the ringleaders received sentence of death. One of them, after his condemnation, disclosed all the history and circumstances of the plot; and this, added to the consideration of his previous good character, to which Sir Edward had borne a strong testimony on the court-martial, made his captain think him a proper subject for mercy. But upon this point, Earl St. Vincent was inflexible. "I am glad of it," he said, when Sir Edward spoke favourably of the prisoner's former conduct; "those who have hitherto suffered had been so worthless before, that their fate was of little use as an example. I shall now convince the fleet that no character will save the man who is guilty of mutiny." May there never be a recurrence of such unhappy times as shall make it the duty of an officer to act upon this stern principle!

The circumstances were concealed from the

Country, and the rest of the fleet, as effectually as if the court-martial had never been held. The distant and retired harbour where the mutiny occurred; the quietness with which it was suppressed; the holding of the court-martial abroad; the frequency of aggravated mutinies within the preceding two years; the magnitude of the political occurrences at that period; and the anxiety felt at the movements of the enemy's fleet, probably the largest they ever had at sea, for it numbered, with the Spaniards, forty sail of the line, all concurred to prevent it from becoming an object of public attention. But Earl St. Vincent appreciated Sir Edward's conduct very highly. "Your brother," he once said to Mr. Pellew, "is an excellent and valuable officer, but the most important service he ever rendered to his Country, was saving the British fleet in Bantry Bay. We know that it was the intention to burn the ships, and join the rebels on shore."

When the time arrived for executing the mutineers, it was found that preparations had been made to give to their fate the appearance of a triumph. For it strongly marks the general feeling in the navy, during this unhappy period, that the individuals who thus suffered, were regarded rather as martyrs than criminals. Encouraged to

hardihood by his mistaken shipmates, generally excited by spirits, and sometimes even decorated with knots of ribbon, the mutineer went boldly to execution, leaving the spectators less appalled at his fate than admiring his fearless bearing. Sir Edward quickly changed this feeling when the prisoners came up to the forecastle. Addressing a few words, first to the men who had followed him from the Indefatigable, and afterwards to the rest of the crew, "Indefatigables," he said, "stand aside! not one of you shall touch the rope. But YOU, who have encouraged your shipmates to the crime by which they have forfeited their lives, it shall be your punishment to hang them!" Quailing before their commander, their false feeling was destroyed in a moment; and as there is no medium between the hardihood and the cowardice of guilt, they felt as he intended, and many of them wept aloud. Afterwards, there was not in the service a more orderly ship than the Impetueux, or a crew more pleasant to command.

Considerate as he was upon all occasions where human life was concerned, and unwilling to resort to punishment, he was always anxious to make it as impressive as possible, whenever it became necessary to inflict it. He assisted to try one of the

mutineers of the Hermione, whose crew had murdered their officers, and carried the ship into a Spanish port. This man's crime was attended with circumstances of peculiar aggravation. He was coxswain to Captain Pigott, who had brought him up from a boy, and treated him with much kindness and confidence. Yet he headed the murderers, and when they broke into the captain's cabin, and that officer, perceiving their intention, called for his coxswain to protect him, he replied with an opprobrious epithet, "Here I am to dispatch you!" He had been entrusted with the captain's keys; and when the work of blood was over, and the murderers were regaling themselves with wine, he told them that he knew where to get them better than what they were drinking. His crime was fully proved; and the court being cleared, Sir Edward proposed that sentence should be executed immediately. The circumstances of the case demanded, in his opinion, unusual severity, which might be expected to have a good effect upon the fleet; while there was every reason to conclude, from the prisoner's demeanour before them, that if delay were allowed, he would meet his fate with a hardihood which would destroy the value of the example. The court at first questioned their power to execute without the

warrant of the Admiralty; but this was quickly settled by reference to the act of Parliament. The President then declared that he could not make the order. "Look here!" said he, giving to Sir Edward his hand, trembling violently, and bathed in a cold perspiration. "I see it, and I respect your feelings," replied Sir Edward, "but I am sure that such an example is wanted, and I must press the point." "Well," he replied, "if it be the *unanimous* opinion of the court, it shall be done." It was agreed to, and the prisoner was called. Though sure that he must be condemned, he entered with a bold front; but when he was informed that he would be executed in one hour, he rolled on the cabin-deck in an agony. "What! gentlemen," he exclaimed, "hang me directly? Will you not allow me a few days — a little time, to make my peace with God!" The whole fleet was appalled when the close of the court-martial was announced to them by the signal for execution; and at the end of the allotted hour, the wretched criminal was brought up to undergo his sentence.

A similar stern decision quelled in a few hours the spirit of resistance during the special commission for trying the Luddites at York, when the county was almost in a state of rebellion; and it

was found necessary to protect the court with cannon. Six of the ringleaders having been convicted on the first day, the intrepid judge, Le Blanc, ordered them all to be hung at six o'clock next morning. While the multitudes, stunned by this unexpected vigour, waited in trembling anxiety for what was next to follow, eight more were convicted on the second day, and as promptly executed. The whole county was struck with terror; and the judge, having thus effected the great object of punishment, by compelling them to respect and fear the law, could now venture to show mercy. It is the hardest effort of human resolution for a judge to consign to certain and ignominious death the helpless being who stands trembling before him, imploring the mercy or the delay which it rests but with him to grant; but whenever justice demands life, duty requires that such a sacrifice shall be made most useful; and to effect this, execution must take place before abhorrence for the crime is lost in pity for the offender. *His* proper time for repentance is the interval between arrest and conviction. Little dependence can be placed on the contrition which never shows itself till every hope of life is gone.

The Impetueux formed part of the force which pursued the combined fleets from the Mediterranean

to Brest, and from which they escaped so narrowly. She afterwards remained with the Channel fleet, under Lord Bridport and Sir Alan Gardner. On the 1st of June, 1800, Earl St. Vincent, who had assumed the command a short time before, detached Sir Edward Pellew, with seven sail of the line, and some smaller vessels, to Quiberon Bay, where they were to land five thousand troops, under General Maitland, to assist the royalists. Next day, the squadron arrived and anchored; and on the 4th, the forts on the peninsula were attacked, and silenced by the Thames, 32, with some of the small craft; and destroyed by a party of troops. Several vessels, taken at the same time, were brought off, or scuttled. Very early on the morning of the 6th, the armed launches, and a division of small craft, were sent away under Lieutenant Pilfold, of the Impetueux, which completed the destruction of the shipping in the Morbihan, bringing off six prizes, and destroying several others, among which was the Insolente, 16-gun brig. They landed at the same time about three hundred troops, who carried and dismantled a fort. The whole service was effected with the loss of two men killed on board the Thames, and one in the boats. By this time, it was placed beyond doubt

that the royalists were not strong enough to warrant a descent. Sir Edward, therefore, proposed an immediate attack on Belleisle, which had long been a very favourite object with him, from a conviction that nothing would enable the British to harass the enemy more effectually than the possession of that island. He earnestly combated the doubts of the General, and pressed the point with all the energy of his character. Filled with the ardour so naturally inspired by the opportunity to attempt the accomplishment of a long-cherished enterprise, he exclaimed, "I will be everywhere at your side, only let us attack the place without delay." But the General, who could not feel that confidence founded on a knowledge of the place, which Sir Edward had gained from having long cruised in the neighbourhood; and who well knew the difficulty and loss which a much larger force had formerly experienced in taking it, objected to an attempt which he thought doubtful and hazardous, and which he had no authority to make; and the enemy in a few days decided the question by strongly reinforcing the garrison. The troops were then landed upon the small island of Houat, about two leagues to the south-east of Quiberon Point, where they remained

encamped, while Sir Edward cruised with his squadron off Port Louis.

Towards the end of July, Mr. Coghlan, who had assisted Sir Edward in saving the people from the Dutton, and was now commanding the Viper cutter, tender to the Impetueux, with the rank of acting lieutenant, proposed and obtained permission to cut out a brig of war, which lay moored within the port. Accordingly, with twelve volunteers from the Impetueux, and a midshipman and six men from the Viper, in the line-of-battle ship's ten-oared cutter; a boat from the Viper, and another from the Amethyst frigate, he went away on the night of the 26th to attack a national brig of seven guns, three of them long twenty-four pounders, and with eighty-seven men on board.

The object of his attack, la Cerbère, was moored with springs on her cable, within pistol-shot of three batteries, surrounded with armed vessels, and not a mile from a seventy-four and a frigate. Notwithstanding her formidable position, and though her crew were prepared, while the boats of the Amethyst and Viper had not been able to keep up with the cutter, he pushed on with the single boat, and made a dash at the brig's quarter. In the act of springing on board, he became entangled in a trawl-net, and before he

could disengage himself, he was pierced through the thigh with a pike, and knocked back into the boat. Still undismayed, they boarded the brig farther a-head, and after a desperate struggle on her deck, carried her. Of the boat's crew, one man was killed, and eight wounded; the brig had six killed, and twenty wounded. The other boats now came up, and the prize was towed out under a heavy, but ineffectual fire from the batteries.

This very brilliant action was rewarded with peculiar notice. The squadron gave up the prize to the captors; Earl St. Vincent presented Mr. Coghlan with a sword; and, a most unusual distinction, he was immediately made a lieutenant by an order in council, though by the regulations of the service, he had still to serve a year and a half before he would be entitled to promotion.

A few days after, Sir J. B. Warren arrived with a small squadron and a fleet of transports; and having re-embarked the troops from Houat, and taken the Impetueux under his orders, proceeded to attack Ferrol. The fleet arrived in the bay of Playa de Dominos on the 25th of August, and Sir James Pulteney, the military commander-in-chief, desired that the troops might be landed immediately. The direction of this service was committed to Sir Edward Pellew, who first

silenced a fort of eight twenty-four pounders by the fire of the Impetueux, assisted by the Brilliant, 28-gun frigate, Cynthia sloop of war, and St. Vincent gun-boat; and landed the whole army the same evening, without losing a man. Sixteen field-pieces were landed at the same time, and the sailors got them, with the scaling ladders, to the heights above Ferrol.

A slight skirmish took place on the first advance of the troops, and a sharper one next morning; but the enemy were effectually driven back, and the heights which command the town and harbour of Ferrol gained, with the loss in all of sixteen men killed, and five officers and sixty-three men wounded. Six sail of the line, two of them large first-rates, were in the harbour. Sir James now resolved to abandon the enterprise. Sir Edward entreated that he might be allowed to lead on with his sailors, for he was confident that the town would yield. But Sir James, differently estimating the difficulties, and believing that the place could not be taken without a delay and loss which might interfere with the more important ulterior objects of the expedition, did not think himself justified in advancing, and the troops and guns were all re-embarked without loss the same night. It was

afterwards ascertained that the garrison, despairing of effectual resistance, were prepared to surrender the keys.

The squadron escorted the transports to Gibraltar, to join a force already assembled there; with which, under the command of Abercromby, and protected by the fleet of Lord Keith, they proceeded to Egypt.

CHAPTER VII.

THE Impetueux remained with the Channel fleet until she was paid off at the end of the war, when Sir Edward was allowed a short repose. He passed it chiefly in the quiet of domestic retirement at Trefusis, a seat belonging to Lord Clinton, which occupies the promontory between the two principal branches of Falmouth harbour, and adjoins the little town of Flushing, where his grandfather had lived. Here, in the bosom of his family, and with many of his companions and friends in the service around him, he enjoyed his first period of relaxation from the beginning of the revolutionary war.

Early in 1801, there was a naval promotion, which left him nearly at the head of the post list; and he was shortly after made a Colonel of Marines. His popularity was now very great, for the credit gained by his first action was increased by every future success, until there was scarcely

an officer whose name was more known and honoured through the Country. That this should create jealousy was only to be expected; for it is always the hardest trial of liberality to be just to the superior fortunes of a competitor. Some, contending that he enjoyed a reputation beyond his deserts, would underrate his services, which, they said, any other officer with the same chances could have performed as well. But chance, though it may afford an occasional instance of unexpected fortune, never gives a long and uniform career of distinction. Sir Edward displayed the same character through all his grades of rank, and, except in the Hazard, obtained the same success in every ship he commanded. It is encouraging to unassisted merit to observe, that he had no influential friends until he had made himself independent of their support, and was attached to the fortunes of no leading commander. All his promotions, and every honour he received, were given expressly to reward some recent and distinguished service.

Many years after he had retired from active employment, he made a modest allusion to this subject at a naval dinner, at which his present Majesty, then Lord High Admiral, presided. In rising to return thanks, when his health was drank with compliments which demanded

acknowledgment, he referred to his own history, as a proof that no officer, however unsupported by influence, need despair of receiving his due reward from the justice and gratitude of his Country. "I have never known," he said, "what fortune meant. I never chose my station, and never had a friend but the King's pennant; but I have always gone where I was sent, and done what I was ordered; and he who will act upon the same principles, may do as I have done."

At the general election in 1802, he was solicited to stand for Barnstaple; for which, after a severe contest, he was returned on the 8th of July, by a very large majority. His correspondence at this period shows that he was very early wearied with the employment. Nor was he better satisfied when he had gained an insight into the nature of a parliamentary life. Indeed, a naval officer of reputation will seldom promote his comfort by going into parliament; where his inactivity will present an unfavourable contrast to his professional character, or his prominence may expose him to the virulence of party. Yet the experience thus obtained was not without value to a man who was from this time to be employed as a commander-in-chief, with a greater share of political responsibility than usually attaches to a naval command.

It taught him to estimate more correctly the value of political friendship, and the spirit of party intrigue. If he had wished to learn this lesson, which professional employment at sea is little calculated to teach, he could not have entered parliament at a better season. The high character, and truly English politics of Mr. Pitt had united very different parties to support him in carrying on a just and necessary war; but when the bond which he had afforded to his party was removed by his going out of office, and peace had deprived them of their common object, former principles of repulsion regained their influence; and the uncertainty whether the premier was the rival or the *locum tenens* of Pitt, increased the confusion. It was still more embarrassing when, at a later period, Mr. Pitt threw himself into avowed opposition to a government, of which the premier was his friend and pupil, and the other ministers, one of whom was his own brother, might all be regarded as his nominees. Indeed, six remained in office when he returned to power, and the ex-premier himself joined the administration a few months after.

Sir Edward had not long been in parliament, before he expressed a confident opinion that Mr. Pitt would soon come in. Succeeding events

strengthened this conviction; and when the peace, or rather armed truce, of Amiens was evidently drawing to a close, he said in one of his letters, "Pitt *must* now be the minister." He gave a general support to the government in the very small part which he took in the business of the House, but he availed himself of the earliest opportunity to escape from it; and on the very day when the King's message was delivered, which indicated the renewal of hostilities, he solicited and obtained employment.

On the 11th of March, 1803, he was appointed to the eighty-gun ship Tonnant, in which, after some delay, occasioned by the general difficulty of procuring men, he joined the Channel fleet. Anxious to take part in the important naval operations to be expected, he wished to sail with Nelson, whose reputation gave a just presage that the most decisive blow would be struck where he commanded; but after he had been appointed to a station, his sense of naval obedience forbad any attempt to change it. With that care for the improvement of his young officers which was always such a prominent feature of his conduct, he advertised for a superior schoolmaster for the Tonnant, to whom he offered 50*l.* per annum, in addition to his pay, that he might obtain for them

better instruction than the regulations of the service would afford.

Early in the summer he was detached from the Channel fleet, with the Mars and Spartiate under his orders, to intercept or blockade a Dutch squadron which had put into the neutral port of Ferrol, on their passage to India. The enemy had proceeded on their voyage the day before he arrived, and he followed under a press of sail as far as Madeira. They were the ships which he afterwards destroyed at Griessee. In his absence, a French squadron of five sail of the line arrived at Corunna from St. Domingo, and took advantage of the first westerly gale to cross the bay to Ferrol. Here they were blockaded by Sir Edward, whose force was soon increased to six, and afterwards to eight sail of the line.

On the 2d of September, during a strong easterly gale, with thick weather, two other French ships from St. Domingo, the Duguay Trouin 74, and Guerrière frigate, were chased by Sir Robert Calder, who was coming out to relieve the Commodore. The Culloden had a running fight with the enemy for two hours and a half, but could not prevent them from getting into Corunna. In autumn, the Tonnant having been refitted at Plymouth, Sir Edward resumed the

command, and maintained a very close blockade, at considerable risk, by night and day. He constantly expected a French force from Brest, and often remarked to his officers, that they would have to fight both squadrons at once. Under such circumstances, every precaution was required; and though unwilling to interfere with the men's rest, yet to prevent surprise, he thought it necessary to keep them at quarters all night, and pipe down the hammocks in the morning.

As the season advanced, the weather became so tempestuous, that the squadron was often driven off the land for many days together, and only occasionally fetched near Ferrol. Sir Edward became anxious therefore to find an anchorage in the neighbourhood, where the fleet could ride out a gale, and obtain necessary supplies. He first examined a bay near Cape Ortugal, but this was too distant. He then went in a cutter into the Bay of Betancos, between Ferrol and Corunna, on the eastern side of which, in a bay called Ares, he considered, contrary to the opinion of the celebrated Spanish hydrographer Tofino, that the anchorage was safe, and the ground good. The correctness of his judgment was proved by the number of heavy gales which the squadron rode out through the winter. The place much

resembles Cawsand Bay, and a windmill stood on the adjacent height, from which the harbour of Ferrol could be seen as distinctly as Hamoaze from Maker Tower. In this mill, the English and French officers on the look-out often met. As long as the wind was westerly, the squadron remained here; but when it shifted to the eastward, which was fair to leave Ferrol, Sir Edward anchored his ships across the entrance of the harbour.

Owing to the prevalence of westerly gales, the supplies from England were totally inadequate to the wants of the squadron; and it became indispensable to procure them on the spot. Occasionally a few live cattle were received, but the vessels bringing them were driven back, or detained, until the beasts were almost dead. Water was soon found; but it was not easy to obtain provisions in the depth of winter from so poor a country. The Spaniards were very lukewarm, and the French Admiral naturally created every obstacle in his power. This important charge was entrusted to Mr. Fitzgerald, purser of the Tonnant, and acting secretary to the Commodore, a gentleman of great resources, and unbounded courage and enterprise. By his exertions a small supply of fresh meat was obtained, with some wine and biscuit; and as

confidence became established, cattle and other necessaries were purchased forty miles in the interior. In the performance of his arduous service, Mr. Fitzgerald was twice attempted to be assassinated; and he escaped, only by killing the assailant upon one occasion, and by wounding some of the party on the other. Sir Edward was thus enabled to maintain an effectual blockade all the winter. He always expected an attack from Brest, which perhaps might have been attempted if the enemy had known his real strength; but his frequent exchanges with the Channel fleet deceived the French Admiral into a belief that a force was cruising in the neighbourhood, of which the ships he saw were only the in-shore division. Early in the year ships arrived from England with supplies, and every difficulty had been removed, when political events at home led to his recall.

While the general wishes and confidence of the Country were directed to Mr. Pitt, as the only minister to carry on the war with proper energy, the chief support of the Government was the reputation and decisive character of Earl St. Vincent, First Lord of the Admiralty; whose ability as a great commander was even surpassed by his consummate skill as a politician. But the Earl was now suffering the common fate of a

practical reformer, to be opposed by the retainers of a former system, and distrusted by all who could not appreciate his innovations. Thoroughly acquainted with his own service, he had introduced every where, and especially into the dockyards, a bold and unsparing reform, which no ingenuity could evade, and which was felt the more, from being coincident with the reductions of peace. All who were thus cut off, and others whose emoluments he curtailed, naturally became hostile to him; and the inconvenience always created in some degree by a change, and which it was the direct interest of so many to aggravate, afforded too favourable opportunities for the prejudiced to misrepresent, and the candid to misunderstand him. In abolishing the practice of building line-of-battle ships in private yards, he took a step of which all subsequent experience has proved the wisdom; but it united against him an extensive, and most powerful interest. It was contended, that his measures displayed great and unnecessary harshness, and were calculated to break down the effectiveness of the navy. Very many persons of the highest integrity, too little acquainted with the facts, were thus deceived; and even Mr. Pitt, though he had recommended Earl St. Vincent for the Admiralty, believed that he was weakening

the most important arm of the Country. Under such circumstances, Sir Edward Pellew was recalled, ostensibly, that the Admiralty might confer with him upon these disputed questions. Nothing could be more flattering to him, or indeed more honourable to both parties, than this confidence; for there had never been much cordiality between Earl St. Vincent and Sir Edward, who was both politically and personally an admirer of Mr. Pitt; and it was clear to every one that the Ministry was about to fall. But the Earl was too conscious of the wisdom of his measures to fear the judgment of a candid opponent; and he too well appreciated Sir Edward's character not to feel assured that he would allow no private motive, or political predilection, to interfere with the discharge of his duty.

Thus when Mr. Pitt gave notice of a motion for inquiry into the state of the navy, of which the avowed object was to censure the naval administration, a mutual friend was employed by the Admiralty to learn Sir Edward's opinion of the subjects it embraced, and, on finding that his judgment condemned them, to induce him to express his sentiments in the house. To this proposal he readily assented. They had all engaged his attention previously, particularly

that relating to the gun-boats, which he had frequently discussed with a popular naval commander, now living, who contended that they might be made effective against a line-of-battle ship. Sir Edward would always say, "I should choose to be in the line-of-battle ship." On the day he went to the house, he observed in a letter to his brother that he now quite understood why he had been recalled from Ferrol.

On the 15th of March, Mr. Pitt brought forward his motions. He contended, that although the enemy had made the most formidable preparations for an invasion, which would probably be attempted within a very few weeks, the effective force of the navy, from line-of-battle ships down to hired armed vessels, was at that moment inferior, and less adequate to the exigency of the danger, than at any former period. Notwithstanding it was so evidently necessary to oppose to the enemy's flotilla a force of a similar description, capable of acting in shallow water, the Admiralty had ordered only twenty-three gun-vessels to be built, of which five were to be completed in three, and the remainder in six months, though the necessity for them was immediate and urgent. He condemned the Admiralty for giving up the former approved plan of building line-of-

battle ships by contract in private yards. Two-thirds of the navy, he said, had been thus built; for during a war, all the strength of the King's yards was required for repairing ships, and building was necessarily suspended in them almost entirely. Through the last war, of twenty-nine line-of-battle ships, twenty-seven had been built in merchants' yards; while in the present, only two had been contracted for, although fourteen or fifteen slips fit for building them were then unoccupied in the river. He contended, finally, that the Admiralty had been very remiss, and unsuccessful, in raising men for the navy. In the war of 1793, we began with 16,000 seamen and marines, and had 75,000 or 76,000 at the end of the year. In the present war, we began with 50,000, and had raised them only to 86,000. Thus, in the former war, there had been an increase of 60,000 men in the year; but in the present, only of 36,000, though our mercantile marine was so much greater. Upon these arguments, he founded motions, for an account of all ships, from line-of-battle ships down to hired armed vessels inclusive, in commission on the 31st of December, 1793; 30th of September, 1801; and 31st of December, 1803; specifying the service on which they were respectively

employed:—for a copy of the contracts made, and the orders given by the Admiralty, in 1793, 1797, and 1803, with respect to the number of gun-vessels to be built:—for a list of ships built in the King's yards for 1793, and 1801; but if it should be thought that any intelligence on this head might be a channel of improper information to the enemy, he would abstain from pressing it, for he was aware that there would still be grounds sufficiently strong to convince the house that it was the preferable plan to construct vessels in the merchants' yards:—and finally, for a similar list of vessels built by contract in private yards.

Mr. Tierney, who led the defence for Ministers, would agree only to the first and second motions; and he moved as an amendment to the first, that it should include all other armed ships and vessels employed in the public service. He denied Mr. Pitt's assertions, and combated his arguments. It was an extraordinary proceeding, he said, that an inquiry should be proposed, having for its object the censure of the Admiralty, when all the enemy's ports were sealed up, our commerce was protected in every direction, and our trade prosperous in an unexampled degree. Our naval force was immense, and admirably calculated for

a great variety of service. We had 1536 vessels employed; of which 511 included the force from line-of-battle ships to hired armed vessels; and 624 were a flotilla completely equipped, and ready for immediate service; besides 9 block-ships supplied by the Trinity House, 19 ships furnished by the East India Company, and 373 lighters, and small craft, fitted in the King's yards. Of 100,000 seamen and marines voted by Parliament, 98,174 had been raised, besides 25,000 sea-fencibles; and this, although the volunteer force of the Country was 450,000. He strongly condemned the practice of building ships in merchants' yards. He alluded to the Ajax, which had been thus built. She had cost £41,000, and the bargain was thought a good one, yet in three years she required a further sum of £17,000 to fit her for service.

Two parties in the house supported the motions; Admiral Berkeley, Mr. Wilberforce, and others, because they agreed with Mr. Pitt in condemning the measures of the Admiralty; Mr. Fox and his friends, because they considered that an inquiry would redound most highly to the credit of Earl St. Vincent. They contended that Ministers opposed it, only to screen their notorious incapacity under the shelter of his great

name. On the other hand, Admiral Sir Charles Pole, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Addington, Captain Markham, and others, supported Mr. Tierney, and confirmed all his statements. Nothing, it was said, could afford a stronger proof how enormous were the abuses which Earl St. Vincent had exposed and corrected, than the argument of Mr. Pitt and his friends, that men-of-war could not be built in the King's yards, although 3200 men were employed in them; and it was known that forty-five shipwrights could build a seventy-four in a year. Four hundred of the men discharged had been receiving six shillings a day for doing nothing. Blockmakers' and coopers' work, for which £2000 had been paid, was proved upon a survey to be worth only £200. As to the gun-boats alluded to, which were built by contract in the last war, they were so bad, that eighty-seven out of a hundred and twenty had been sold by public advertisement for almost nothing. The men-of-war launched from private yards had been the ruin of the navy. Three of them went to Portugal, and were found so defective, that it was necessary to send them home, with a frigate for convoy. The arrangements for the naval defence of the Country were most admirable and complete, and if there were any delay

in building the twenty-three gun-vessels ordered by the Admiralty, it was because no dependence was placed upon that description of force. It would be folly to meet the enemy with the inferior weapons which necessity obliged him to employ, when we possessed a more powerful arm in our heavy men-of-war and frigates. The depth of water would allow these to act close to our very shores; and if the enemy's flotilla should venture out, Captain Markham, Sir Edward Pellew, Sir Thomas Troubridge, or any officer known in our naval records, would with a single seventy-four, shoot through and sink a crowd of their contemptible craft.

Ministers obtained a majority of 201 against 130; a most triumphant result for Earl St. Vincent, considering the character of his accuser, and the grounds upon which Mr. Fox and his friends voted for the motions.

Sir Edward Pellew met the charges against the Admiralty with the plain, and straightforward declarations of a seaman. Nothing could be more disinterested than his conduct upon this occasion; for there was little to hope from the gratitude of a Ministry just tottering to their overthrow, and everything to fear from the resentment of their successors. But he justly considered that upon

a vital question, and at such a crisis, no personal or party feeling should intrude; and he felt himself called upon to support the Admiralty with more than a silent vote, because he quite approved their measures, which no man could better understand. He rose fifth in the debate, and spoke as follows:—

"Sir—As I very seldom trouble the house, I hope I may be permitted to make a few observations on a subject, of which, from the professional experience I have had, I may be presumed to have some knowledge. From the debate of this night, there is one piece of information I have acquired; that the French have got upwards of a thousand vessels in Boulogne. I am glad to find they are shut up there: we have one advantage in it; we know where they are. I wish we had any means of knowing when they intend to come out. I know this much, however, that they cannot all get out in one day, or in one night either; and when they do come out, I trust that our cockleshells alone, as an honourable Admiral has called a very manageable and very active part of our force, will be able to give a good account of them.

"Sir, I do not really see in the arrangement of our naval defence, anything to excite the appre-

hensions of even the most timid among us. On the contrary, I see everything that may be expected from activity and perseverance to inspire us with confidence. I see a triple naval bulwark, composed of one fleet acting on the enemy's coast; of another, consisting of heavier ships, stationed in the Downs, and ready to act at a moment's notice; and of a third, close to the beach, capable of destroying any part of the enemy's flotilla that should escape the vigilance of the other two branches of our defence.

" In respect to what has been said of building ships by contract, I must confess that I do not much admire that mode of keeping up our navy. I have seen some of them, I particularly allude to the Ajax, and Achilles, that I took for Frenchmen.

" As to these gun-boats, which have been so strongly recommended, this musquito fleet, they are the most contemptible force that can be employed. Gun-brigs, indeed, are of some use; but between a gun-brig, and a gun-boat, there is almost as much difference as between a line-of-battle ship, and a frigate. I have lately seen half a dozen of them lying wrecked on the rocks.

" As to the probability of the enemy being able, in a narrow sea, to pass through our blockading and protecting squadrons, with all that

secrecy and dexterity, and by those hidden means that some worthy people expect, I really, from anything that I have seen in the course of my professional career, am not disposed to concur in it.

"I know, sir, and can assert with confidence, that our navy was never better found; that it was never better supplied; and that the men were never better fed, and better clothed. Have we not all the enemy's ports blockaded, from Toulon to Flushing? Are we not able to cope anywhere, with any force the enemy dares to send out against us? And do we not even outnumber them at every one of the ports we have blockaded? It would smack a little of egotism, I fear, were I to speak of myself; but as a person lately having the command of six ships, I hope I may be allowed to state to the house, how I have been supported in that command. Sir, during the time that I was stationed off Ferrol, I had ships passing from the fleet to me every three weeks or a month; and so much was the French Commander in that port deceived by these appearances, that he was persuaded, and I believe is to this very hour, that I had twelve ships under my command; and that I had two squadrons to relieve each other, one of six inside, and the other of six outside."

He was highly complimented by several who followed him in the debate, particularly by Mr. Addington, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Courtenay; as well as by other members out of the house. Twenty who had come down intending to vote for Mr. Pitt's motions, were induced to support the Admiralty, confessedly by Sir Edward's statements. But it is, perhaps, the most decisive proof of the effect of his speech, that Mr. Pitt himself referred to it in a debate on the defence of the Country six weeks after. At the same time he disavowed the gun-boats, and contended for "good stout gun-brigs;" declaring that he had observed with much satisfaction the efforts which had lately been made to increase that description of force.

Mr. Addington resigned on the 12th of May; with Earl St. Vincent; Mr. Yorke, the Home Secretary; and Lord Hobart, Secretary at War. They were succeeded by Mr. Pitt, and Lords Melville, Harrowby, and Camden.

On the 23d of April, there was a naval promotion, in which the senior captains, including Sir Edward Pellew, were advanced to be Rear-Admirals of the White, passing over the intermediate step. This favour was probably considered due to them, for they had served considerably

beyond the time which had hitherto given an officer his flag, the former promotion having been a small one, and the interval much longer than usual.

Sir Edward received with his promotion the appointment to be commander-in-chief in India. He hoisted his flag in the Culloden, and gratified Captain Christopher Cole, the youngest brother of his deceased friend, and who had served as a midshipman under his orders, by naming him for his captain. *

* Appendix, F.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE arduous charge of a commander-in-chief requires more than great decision, and a judgment matured by experience. It claims also a mind naturally comprehensive, that it may be equal to great and complicated responsibilities. He has other, and not less important duties than to harass the enemy. He is to protect the commerce of his Country; to make his influence so felt over every part of his station, that merit may be encouraged, and negligence effectually controlled; to provide in all respects for the efficiency of his fleet; and to act with the full powers of an ambassador, wherever there is no accredited minister. In addition to these more obvious duties, occasions will continually arise which demand the utmost temper and discretion. If the secret history of the greatest, and most popular

commanders were fully made known; what difficulties they contended with, and what anxieties they endured, not many would be found to envy them their distinctions.

The change in the Ministry, which took place within three weeks after Sir Edward's promotion and appointment, subjected him, in its consequences, to many and great inconveniences; for the new Board of Admiralty manifested a decidedly hostile feeling. Such was the temper displayed, that he thought it necessary to caution his brother Israel to observe the utmost circumspection in all his conduct, and never even to sleep out of his ship. The evident desire to deprive him of his command, left him very little expectation that he would be allowed to keep it; and in his first letter from India, he observed, "Probably my successor is already on his way to supersede me." He was not far mistaken.

The most valuable, indeed the only valuable part of his command, was that to the eastward of Ceylon, which includes the two chief presidencies, and all the rich colonies of the enemy. It was resolved to deprive him of this, by creating it a separate station, leaving to him only the western seas. The more desirable portion was conferred upon Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas Troubridge, an

officer whose reputation must endure as long as the name and services of Nelson are remembered; and whose unquestioned merit affords every cause to regret that he was innocently made the instrument of such a proceeding. He hoisted his flag in the Blenheim, and sailed from England in the spring of 1805, with a fleet of Indiamen under his convoy; and after beating off Rear-Admiral Linois, who attacked him with the Marengo and Belle Poule, reached India in August.

When Sir Thomas went on board the Culloden, on his unwelcome, but not unexpected errand, Sir Edward inquired if he had brought his own letters of recall. Finding that the Admiralty had overlooked the essential step of sending them, he declared that until they arrived he could not resign any part of his command. He was charged with it by the King, and was required by the regulations of the service to hold it until recalled by the same authority. Sir Thomas thought that a commission was cancelled by a posterior one, without a direct recall; but Sir Edward, who was equalled by very few in his knowledge of naval law, found it easy to convince him to the contrary, or at least to refute his arguments. He told Sir Thomas that if he remained in India, it must be under his own orders, for his commission

comprehended all the station, and it was impossible for a junior to command in the presence of his superior officer. When Sir Thomas, indignant at the proposal, refused to act under the other's authority, Sir Edward brought the question very promptly to an issue by writing, and handing to Sir Thomas, an order on service.

Both officers were naturally warm, and Sir Thomas, disappointed as well as irritated, and who was taken so entirely by surprise, had by this time quite lost his temper. Indeed, the altercation had gone so far, that nothing but a sense of their public responsibility prevented a more unpleasant meeting. Sir Edward had hitherto maintained his self-command; but as Sir Thomas continued warm, and he was conscious of the infirmity of his own temper, he went himself to the cabin-door, and calling for Captain Cole, desired him to remain as a witness of all that passed. The two Admirals quickly came, not perhaps to a more friendly feeling, but at least to a better understanding. Sir Thomas could not but see that the other was acting in strict conformity to his duty, and he had the assurance that the Admiralty would correct their oversight as soon as a reference could be made to them. Sir Edward must have felt it most painful thus to

meet an officer, whose character stood deservedly among the highest in the service, the trusted friend, and almost the other self, of Nelson. Acting with the utmost disinterestedness, though he could only expect to be superseded, for a public board will seldom confess itself to have been in error, he did not hesitate, as soon as his own authority had been properly admitted, to give Sir Thomas a separate squadron in the best part of the station. It proved a most lucrative command, for in addition to its general advantages, some prizes of immense value were taken. On the 26th of July, 1806, the Greyhound frigate, and Harrier sloop of war, fell in with two large armed Indiamen, richly laden with spices, and protected by a frigate and a corvette. The British gallantly attacked them, and captured, with little loss, the frigate, and both the Indiamen. To add to the gratification of the Admiral, it was his son, Captain Troubridge, who commanded the Harrier.

Sir Edward, as far as he was himself concerned, had eventually little reason for regret. The position of true dignity, to be always ready to sacrifice personal feelings, and to surrender, when necessary, personal interests, but never to compromise any point of principle, or character, is

generally the course not less of prudence, than of honour. He obtained on this occasion all he could desire, and more than he had hoped for, a candid inquiry. Before his letter reached England, there had been a change in the Ministry, and Mr. Grey was at the head of the Admiralty. Nothing could be more honourable than all his conduct. It was at first believed that Sir Edward had committed an illegal and unprecedented act of resistance to that authority, which, as an officer, he was bound implicitly to obey. Yet, believing that he had acted hastily, Mr. Grey himself went to the Duke of Northumberland, as Sir Edward's friend, to say that the board would allow him to write a letter on service, recalling his ill-advised communication. The Duke sent to Sir Edward's brother, who was then in town, that he might write to India without delay; but Mr. Pellew at first thought the step unnecessary. His brother, he said, was not in the habit of acting without due consideration, and he did not think it would be found that he had done so now. But next day, Earl St. Vincent called upon the Duke, and insisted more strongly on the necessity for the step. Sir Edward's letter, he said, was not a question of this, or the other administration, but an act of insubordination which no Ministry could overlook: that his

professional prospects would be entirely destroyed if the board took cognizance of it; and that extraordinary lenity was shown in allowing him to recall it. A letter was accordingly written; but before a ship sailed, Mr. Grey came a second time to the Duke, and told him he had found, upon inquiry, that Sir Edward Pellew was right. He did more; for he wrote to Sir Edward himself a very kind and handsome letter; and though opposed to him in political opinions, while Sir Thomas Troubridge was connected with his own friends, he recalled this officer, whom he appointed to the Cape, and continued to Sir Edward, as at first, the entire command in India.

Sir Thomas had with great reason assured himself of a different result. The Blenheim was at this time, in the opinion of many, unseaworthy, and required constant pumping, even in harbour. She had grounded on a shoal in the Straits of Malacca, and was obliged to throw her guns overboard, and cut away the masts before she could be got off. Her frame was shaken almost to pieces, and she hogged excessively. In this state, Sir Thomas determined to cross the Indian Ocean with her to the Cape. His captain reported her condition. Sir Edward Pellew intreated him to select any other ship on the station

for his flag, and allow the Blenheim to be taken to Bombay to be docked. But Sir Thomas, placing a fatal reliance upon a plan of his own for securing her, would listen to no offer for his accommodation. On the 12th of January, 1807, he sailed from Madras, in company with the Java, a frigate lately taken from the Dutch, and bought into the service, and the Harrier sloop of war. On the 5th of February, the Harrier parted company off the island of Rodrigues, in a very heavy gale, in which the unfortunate Blenheim and Java were seen to make repeated signals of distress. They were never again heard of!

The possibility that the ships might have run on shore, induced Sir Edward to send the Admiral's son with the Greyhound frigate in search of his lamented parent. Captain Troubridge explored the coasts with all the anxiety that filial affection could inspire, receiving every assistance from the French authorities at the Isles of France and Bourbon; but he could discover no certain traces of the ships, and no doubt remained that they had both foundered.

Sir Edward had been in India but a very short time, when his friend and former opponent, Bergeret, was brought to him a prisoner. This gallant officer had employed himself through the

peace in the merchant service, with the Psyché, formerly a small national frigate. When hostilities were renewed, he armed her with thirty-six guns, and sent her out in charge of another officer, Captain Trogoff, not choosing to command a privateer. In her first cruise, on the 11th of April, 1804, she attacked, and was beaten off by the Wilhelmina store-ship, Captain Henry Lambert, and returning to the Isle of France, disabled, General Decaen, the governor, bought her into the national marine, and appointed Bergeret to command her. He cruised in the Bay of Bengal for a short time with much success, while his very liberal conduct obtained for him the highest respect of the British residents. Fortune was again unjust to him. On the 14th of February, 1805, the San Fiorenzo, commanded by Captain Lambert, late of the Wilhelmina, and which had been sent expressly in pursuit of him, fell in with the Psyché off Vizagapatam, and after a chase of two days brought her to action. Bergeret defended his ship against a very superior force for three hours and a half, when the San Fiorenzo hauled off to repair her rigging, leaving him with his ship entirely disabled, and more than half his crew killed and wounded. On the approach of the British frigate to renew the action, he surrendered.

Sir Edward was a warm admirer of the brave prisoner, whose character so much resembled his own, and who returned his friendship with equal warmth and sincerity. There is not often such a scene on board a man-of-war as occurred when the two officers first met on the quarter-deck of the Culloden. Both were deeply affected, and the struggle of their feelings, from meeting under such circumstances, drew tears from many who witnessed the interview.

Sir Edward was not always so happy as to meet with enemies thus deserving of his sympathy. A French frigate, the Piedmontaise, was guilty of conduct which would have disgraced a pirate. Cruising off the Cape, on the 17th of February, 1805, she fell in with the Warren Hastings, one of the China fleet which on a former voyage so gallantly beat off the squadron of Admiral Linois; and after a very long and severe action, in which the Indiaman was dismasted, and otherwise completely disabled, took her. Her brave defence appears to have excited the fury of the enemy, probably because her very crippled state increased the probability of recapture. Before taking possession of the prize, the frigate, by her own mismanagement, fell on board her. Immediately the first lieutenant, with a party of ruffians, many

of whom, like their leader, were intoxicated, rushed on the deck of the Indiaman with horrid imprecations and drawn daggers, accusing the prisoners of having run foul of the frigate intentionally. The lieutenant himself wounded Captain Larkins dangerously, and stabbed a young midshipman in several places; and the second officer, the surgeon, and a boatswain's mate, were wounded by his followers. Sir Edward did not become acquainted with these facts for two years, as Captain Larkins and his crew could not depose to them until they reached St. Helena, after they had been liberated from the Isle of France. The Piedmontaise was then cruising in the Indian seas, and Sir Edward transmitted copies of the depositions to every ship on the station, with a general order, in which "the attention of the respective captains and commanders of H. M. squadron is especially called to the statement, in order that the ferocious conduct of the first lieutenant, and part of the crew of the Piedmontaise, may receive the general reprobation of H. M. service."

The San Fiorenzo was again the fortunate frigate, which stopped the career of the enemy. Commanded by Captain George Nicholas Hardinge, a young officer of great promise and

distinguished courage, she fell in with the Piedmontaise on the evening of the 6th of March, 1808; and after an exchange of broadsides that night, and a severe, but still undecided engagement next morning, brought her to close action on the afternoon of the third day, and took her. The San Fiorenzo commenced action with only 186 effective men; the Piedmontaise, a larger and heavier frigate, had more than 500, including 200 Lascars. Captain Hardinge was unfortunately killed on the third day. For some time before the enemy struck, the first lieutenant was seen exposing himself to the hottest of the fire; till, disappointed of the death he sought, and dreading to fall into the hands of the British, he discharged his pistols into his own body. It is said, that as he did not die immediately, he ordered some of his people to throw him overboard alive.

The French naval force in the Indian seas was at no time considerable, for whenever a cruiser was known to be committing depredations, her career was generally cut short by some of the squadron. It consisted chiefly of privateers, for which the Isle of France afforded a convenient rendezvous; and of which some were large enough to capture a regular Indiaman. The Emiline, taken after a two days' chase by the

Culloden, had been a British sloop of war; and the Bellone, taken by the Powerful and Rattlesnake, was added to the navy as a small-class frigate, and actually maintained a running fight with the seventy-four. The resemblance between ships of war and the larger Indiamen more than once deceived the enemy. The Union, a small privateer, mounting only eight guns, thus ventured to chase, and was taken by the Culloden; and the Jena, national corvette, was taken in the same manner by the Modeste frigate. The Jena was a remarkably fine and fast vessel, and, as the Revenant privateer, had formerly cruised long and very successfully. She was commissioned as the Victor, to replace a sloop of war of that name, which in the preceding year had been the scene of one of the most extraordinary and tragical events on record.

The Victor, commanded by Captain George Bell, whose name has been already mentioned in connexion with the Nymphe and Indefatigable, had taken four brigs in Batavia Road, and was returning to Prince of Wales' Island. On the 15th of April, 1807, off Cheribon, she met three Malay prows under Dutch colours, which, on its falling calm, she detained with the armed boats, and brought alongside. The crews of two of

them, a hundred and twenty men, were taken on board the Victor, and placed under a guard, while the prows were being examined; but the people in the third being refractory, a carronade was fired into her, and some small arms; which they returned by throwing spears, and firing pistols. A second gun was therefore fired, some sparks from which reached a quantity of powder which had been taken out of the prows, and blew up the after-part of the ship. The guard ran to extinguish the flames, leaving the prisoners, who instantly seized their arms, with the spears and knives which had been thrown on board, and attacked the crew with all the desperation of their character. The prows were immediately cut adrift, and the crew, under the direction of their officers, proceeded with admirable order and coolness, one part to extinguish the fire, and the rest to defend themselves against the murderous attack. After half an hour's dreadful struggle for life, for the Malays would take no quarter, eighty of them lay dead on the deck, and the rest were driven overboard. The Victor had her first lieutenant and five men killed; and her captain and twenty-five wounded; nine of whom died shortly after.

Holland, which in reality, though not yet in name, was now a French province, had a

moderately strong squadron in India. Two frigates had been taken since Sir Edward's arrival, the Maria Riggersbergen, by the Caroline; and the Pallas, by the Greyhound and Harrier. The first was the unfortunate Java, which shared the fate of the Blenheim; the other was the convoy of the spice ships. Two line-of-battle ships, the Pluto and Revolutié, with a frigate, and several corvettes and gun-brigs, were at anchor in Batavia roads; and information had been received by the Powerful 74, Captain Plamplin, that Rear-Admiral Willaumez, with six sail of the line, one of them commanded by Jerome Buonaparte, might be expected in the Indian seas. To destroy the ships already at Batavia, and to intercept the French squadron, Sir Edward sailed on the 22d of October, 1806, from Madras to Trincomalee. Here a fleet of Indiamen under his convoy was joined by other ships, and went on to Europe in charge of the Woolwich and Duncan; while the Admiral, with the Culloden, Powerful, Russell, and Belliqueux line-of-battle ships, and Terpsichore frigate, proceeded to the Straits of Sunda, where the Albion and others were to join him. Lieutenant Owen, commanding the Seaflower brig, was instructed to disguise her as one of the expected French squadron, and to hasten on

before. On the 23d of November, they were joined by the frigate Sir Francis Drake, Captain Pownoll Pellew; and on the same day, they learnt that Willaumez had gone to America. On the 26th, they arrived in the Straits of Sunda, where they found the Seaflower, which had already communicated with the Dutch authorities at Bantam, as one of the expected French force, and information was sent accordingly to the Governor at Batavia. So completely were the enemy deceived by this step, that the squadron sailed along the coast of Java, and anchored on the 27th in Batavia road, before its character was suspected. As soon as it was known to be British, the Phœnix 40-gun frigate; the Aventure and Zee-ploeg, national corvettes; the Patriot, and another ship of 20 guns, and three brigs of 14, Company's cruisers; with more than twenty merchant-vessels, ran themselves on shore under the extensive batteries of Batavia. Another corvette, the William, struck to the Terpsichore as she was entering the road; but the line-of-battle ships had sailed a few days before to Griessee, a fortified harbour on the Sourabaya river, at the eastern extremity of the island. The boats of the whole squadron, with five hundred picked men, commanded by the Admiral's second

son, Captain Fleetwood Pellew, of the Terpsichore, and covered by the fire from the frigates, were sent without delay to destroy the enemy's ships. The decision of Captain Pellew, which scarcely allowed them time to man their guns, made their fire almost harmless. He boarded the Phœnix, whose crew quitted her on his approach; turned her guns on the other armed vessels; burnt all the shipping, except three merchant-vessels, which were brought away; and in less than two hours returned with the boats, having effected the whole service with no greater loss than one man killed, and four wounded.

One of the ships lay at the little island of Onroost, which is piled and jettied all round, and contained a small and compact repairing yard for merchant-vessels of all nations. Two boats were sent to destroy her, with strict orders to injure nothing on shore; but unfortunately she drove alongside the jetty, and to the great regret of the Admiral, the flames communicated to the buildings, and occasioned much damage. The squadron sailed on the 1st of December, the Culloden and Belliqueux to return to India, the others for their respective stations. Thus easily was completed an enterprise, as admirably planned as it was gallantly executed. General Daendels, when

he became Captain-General of Java and the Moluccas, some time after, sent a message to Sir Edward, that he hoped he would not pay him a visit without an invitation.

In the following June, the Admiral sent Captain Fleetwood Pellew in the Psyché, with the Caroline under his orders, to ascertain the condition of the Dutch line-of-battle ships at Griessee. Captain Pellew displayed on this occasion the same spirit which had marked his former service. The frigates reached their destination August 29th, and on the following day, learnt that the men-of-war were lying in the port, dismantled, and very much out of repair. They now proceeded to Samarang, where the Psyché arrived, and anchored off the port at midnight, the Caroline having parted company in chase. At day-light, she weighed, and stood into the road, where an armed schooner, and a merchant-brig were anchored near the batteries. These were brought out by the boats, under a heavy, but ineffectual fire. Two large ships and a brig had been seen early in the morning at anchor outside, afterwards found to be the Resolutie armed merchant-vessel, of 700 tons, with a valuable cargo, and having the colours and staff of a Dutch European regiment on board; the Scipio national corvette, of 24 guns and 150 men; and

the Ceres, Company's brig of war. That he might be ready to take advantage of the sea breeze, Captain Pellew destroyed the prizes; and before noon, the Psyché was clear of the harbour in chase, the enemy having weighed, and stood to sea. The frigate gaining fast upon them, they all ran themselves on shore at half-past three, and opened their fire. The Psyché anchored as near as the depth of water would allow, and presently compelled the merchant-ship to surrender. At half-past four, just as the frigate was lowering her boats to board, the Scipio struck; and the brig soon after fired a broadside, and hauled down her colours. They were all got off safely the same night; and Captain Pellew, after arranging with the Governor of Samarang for sending on shore the prisoners, who far outnumbered his own crew, returned to port with his prizes.

On the arrival of the Psyché, Sir Edward sailed from Madras, with the Culloden and Powerful, seventy-fours; Caroline and Fox, frigates; Victor, Samarang, Seaflower, and Jaseur, sloops of war; and Wexford, a large Indiaman, fitted as a troop ship: with five companies of the 30th regiment, and a company of artillery, under Lieutenant-Colonel Lockhart. The squadron proceeded first to Prince of Wales' Island, where it embarked

the Royals, and the 34th; and on the 20th of November sailed finally for its destination. On the morning of the 5th of December it arrived off Point Panka, the eastern extremity of Java; and Sir Edward sent a summons to M. Cowell, commander of the Gallo-Batavian force, to surrender the ships of war under his orders. "The British," he wrote, "are the natural friends of the Dutch. We are impressed with correspondent sentiments. It is become our duty to prevent the Dutch ships of war from acting under the control of France in hostility to the British." He then proposed that the ships of war, and all vessels under French colours, be given up, promising in that case security for the inhabitants and garrison; and threatening, in the event of a refusal, those hostile operations which the naval and military forces were jointly prepared to accomplish. Captain Fleetwood Pellew, with a military officer, and the Admiral's secretary, delivered this proposal to the French commodore; but that officer, in violation of the flag of truce, detained them all as prisoners, and returned an answer of defiance.

The force assembled for the attack was such as might deter the enemy from attempting resistance, with a sufficient force of small vessels to be equal to the service, if the line-of-battle ships should be

unable to get up. At the entrance of the river, about ten miles up the harbour, the Culloden and Powerful, though they had been previously lightened, and trimmed to an even keel to equalize their draught of water fore-and-aft, grounded on what was called the bar, and which proved to be a flat, several miles in extent. Part of their water was started, and their guns, shot, provisions, and whatever would materially lighten them, were removed into three coasting-vessels detained for that purpose; but still they remained fast. The rest of the squadron, except the troop-ship, which was also a-ground, crossed the bar, and passing a stockade of large trees, anchored in deep water below the island of Madura. On the evening of the 6th, Sir Edward, seeing no probability of carrying up the large ships, determined to force the passage, and attack the place without them, and, accordingly, shifted his flag to the Caroline. Fortunately, at nine o'clock that night the water began to rise; and by ten, the Culloden was afloat and under sail. Following a boat with a light, which was directed by Mr. Gaze, the master, she passed the stockade, and by eleven o'clock was anchored above the bar in deep water. Before daylight, the Admiral returned to her, and all the squadron, except the Powerful and the

troop-ship, which had not yet floated, weighed with the sea-breeze, and stood for the narrow passage between Madura and Java. At half-past eleven, they were engaged with the batteries on the island; but they passed them by half-past twelve, without having received material damage. At a little past four, the squadron anchored abreast of the Fort of Griessee, but no farther resistance was offered, except a few ineffectual shot fired from that fort at the Culloden; M. Cowell having previously determined to defend the place to the last against the frigates and sloops, but to surrender if the line-of-battle ships got up. The Powerful joined next day. In coming up she was struck from the batteries on Madura with hot shot, but her people extinguished the fire. The troops took possession of the fort, leaving the town in the hands of the civil authorities; and on the 9th, the Governor and Council of Sourabaya, having thankfully acquiesced in the liberal terms dictated by Sir Edward, all hostilities ceased. They had promptly released the gentlemen whom the commodore had so unjustifiably detained; and a deputation of three members of their own body accompanied them to the Admiral, to disavow the act of M. Cowell, and to treat for a capitulation. Having burnt the Pluto, Revolutie, and Kortenaar,

line-of-battle ships, and a large Indiaman, fitted as a frigate; and destroyed the military stores and batteries at Griessee and Madura, the squadron weighed on the 13th, and stood down the river in charge of the Dutch pilots. On the 15th, they crossed the bar, and two days after, having completed their provisions and water, left the coast. Not a man was lost in all the service. When Java was taken in 1811, a squadron was sent to Sourabaya; but none of the large ships could get over the bar; and their officers would scarcely credit the fact that the Culloden and Powerful had reached Griessee.

The Culloden arrived at Madras on the 10th of February, and found there the Russell and Duncan, with troops embarked to attack Tranquebar. They sailed next day, and the place surrendered on being summoned.

But all these operations, complete as they were in their success, were of far less importance than the effectual protection which Sir Edward afforded to commerce. His position, with reference to this point, had been peculiarly fortunate; for the confidential intercourse which existed between him and his brothers, and the warm interest which they took in one another's pursuits, had induced him to give much attention to the commercial

system of the Country. Particularly, he had become familiar with the important subjects of insurance and convoys, upon which his brother had been much in communication with the Government. At an early period of his command in India, he submitted to the merchants and underwriters a proposal to establish a regular system of convoys; and invited them to suggest from their own local experience, the regulations likely to be the most convenient and effectual. The merchants entered readily into his plans, and the results were satisfactory. Some loss was, indeed, still experienced through a frequent practice of masters of vessels to sail without convoy, or to separate from it on the passage. The commanders of the enemy's cruisers generally treated their prisoners well, and released them at the earliest opportunity; so that sailing without protection became a mere commercial calculation between a higher premium of insurance, and the profits from an early arrival, for little personal inconvenience was to be apprehended from capture. To check this practice, the Bengal Government, in December, 1806, issued a proclamation, declaring that all masters of vessels who separated from their convoy without sufficient cause, should be removed from India: and in 1808, the Court of

Directors ordered, that the master of every country ship should enter into a bond of 5000 rupees, at the custom-house from which he cleared, as a penalty for any separation. Not that the danger was often great, for the vigilance of the squadron seldom allowed an enemy's cruiser a long career; but it sometimes happened, as was particularly the case while the force was assembled for the expedition to Sourabaya, that an enemy would unexpectedly show himself, and commit serious depredations.

During the debate in the House of Commons, on the vote of thanks for the victory at Algiers, Mr. Money, an East India Director, who had been in India during Sir Edward's command, bore a strong testimony to the merit, and success of his system. "Such," he said, "was the vigilance with which Sir Edward had chased the enemy from our extensive shores, and so powerful the protection which he gave to our commerce in those seas, that property to the amount of millions had been saved, which otherwise would have fallen into the hands of the enemy." Making all the allowance which a loose and general estimate usually requires, the assertion at least shows the estimation in which Sir Edward's services were held. A series of resolutions entered into by the

merchants and underwriters of Bombay, in December, 1808, when he was on the point of returning to Europe, afford more precise evidence. From the data furnished by this port, may be inferred the greatness of the benefits which the commerce of India received from his protection.

" Resolved — That it appears to this meeting of merchants, shipowners, and underwriters, of Bombay, to be an indispensable act of justice, more especially under existing circumstances, publicly to declare, on the approaching departure of his Excellency Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Pellew for Europe, the extent of the protection which the commerce of Bombay has received, since the assumption by his Excellency of the command-in-chief of his Majesty's ships in the Indian seas.

" — That it appears by a document framed in the insurance-office of Bombay, that the rate of premium from Bombay to China, and from China to Bombay, from the year 1798 to 1805, fluctuated between twelve, ten, nine, and eight per cent.; while, during the period of Sir Edward Pellew's command, from 1805 to 1808 inclusive, it has stood at eight per cent., with a return of three per cent., if sailing with convoy, and at five per cent., if warranted with convoy: the rate of insurance

has, therefore, been fifty per cent. lower on the commerce of the port of Bombay during Sir Edward Pellew's command than at any former period.

" — That since the arrival of Sir Edward Pellew, a period of only three years, one hundred and ten ships have exported and imported, to and from China, under convoy during the whole voyage; while only twenty-eight have run the passage unprotected, in consequence of their sailing out of the seasons fixed for the regular convoys; at the same time that those which have departed unprotected on the eve of appointed convoys, or have separated in the course of the voyage, have not failed to attract the notice and remonstrance of his Excellency.

" — That the operation of the system of convoys has afforded complete security to the trading capital of Bombay, of which the amount insured at this settlement, from May 1st, 1806, to October 31st, 1808, has been £6,700,000; that the premium paid by the trade on that sum amounts to £445,000; that the losses by captures amount to £61,000; that the losses by sea-risks extend to £69,000; and that the profits to the underwriters amount to the sum of £314,000; the losses by captures being under one per cent. on the principal

insured, and exceeded by those arising from sea-risks; while the former have occurred beyond the influence, or have been the consequence of a departure from that regular system of convoy, by which the commerce of the western division of the peninsula of India has been so extensively benefited.

"— That the advantage resulting from protection by convoys, which the trade of this port has thus experienced, has originated in that system which was established, and has prevailed, since the succession to the command of H. M. ships in India by Sir Edward Pellew; a system proposed at his express invitation, in the letter addressed to his Excellency by the three leading firms in behalf of the merchants of Bombay, on the 12th of February, 1806, and adopted in the reply of his Excellency's secretary of the following day.

"— That at a time when the enemy has sacrificed his maritime reputation, and every feeling of naval ambition, to a degrading system of privateering, in the prosecution of which national ships of superior force and construction are employed, for the purpose of committing depredations on our trade, it is indispensable to the successful prosecution of our commercial interests, essential to our national credit, and justly due to the character

of those to whom the protection of these valuable and important trusts is committed, that a steady adherence to that system should be observed, of the solid advantages of which, the experience of three years has afforded so decided a proof.

"— That independently of the ample protection afforded to the commerce of this port, his Excellency Sir Edward Pellew has manifested a degree of personal anxiety for the security of its trade, characteristic of that zeal and vigilance which have ever distinguished his professional career; that the interference of his Excellency led to the advertisements issued at his suggestion by the insurance society of Bombay in the year 1806, promotive of encouragement to sail and continue under convoy; and subsequently, to the salutary provisions contained in the proclamations published by the governments of Bengal and Bombay in the year 1807, restrictive of the practice of ships separating from convoy; and, moreover, that his Excellency's solicitude in this respect has succeeded in establishing a degree of control over our shipping, hitherto unknown in the Indian seas.

"— That these important facts, as established by the most minute investigation, do eminently entitle his Excellency Sir Edward Pellew to a more formal declaration of those grateful

acknowledgments which he has already received from a great and decided majority of the merchants, ship-owners, and underwriters of Bombay.

"— That these resolutions be communicated to his Excellency Sir Edward Pellew with a suitable address, and published in the Bombay Courier.

CHARLES FORBES, Chairman."

The great extent of the Indian command, and the comparatively small force with which it was held, called for the utmost exertions of every officer; and the attention of the commander-in-chief was unceasingly directed to every thing which was calculated to maintain his squadron in the highest state of efficiency. Lord Torrington, who was at this time serving under his orders, bore testimony in the House of Lords to the care and judgment by which, while he prevented any waste of the naval stores, he kept the ships always well supplied, and in a state always ready for action. Overlooking nothing connected with the interest of his crews, he established a naval hospital at Madras, a measure fraught with œconomy to the Country, and advantage to the service.

As an Admiral, not less than as a Captain, Sir Edward interested himself in the welfare and

comfort of every man under his command; but the clamour of that false humanity which is one of the most prominent vices of the present day, would never influence him. He knew that even in the best ordered ships, punishment may be sometimes necessary as an extreme alternative, though the exercise of it demands great discretion. Too many will be found, especially during a war, when it is impossible to inquire into the character of those who come into the service, who are callous to every better motive; and with reference to such, we must respect the humanity more than the judgment of those who would substitute privations injurious to health for the pain of the lash, and studied indignities for the shame of it. Little consideration can be claimed for that pretended sense of honour which is sensitive to the degradation of punishment, but callous to that of crime. The experience of every good officer will bear out the assertions, that a strict commander is always the most popular; that the orderly system of a well regulated ship, in which every man knows his duty, and performs it without being teazingly interfered with, affords the best security against offences; and that when an offence has been committed, the ship's company, and even the culprit himself, will respect the

captain who patiently investigates the fault, and dispassionately orders the deserved punishment.

But on the other hand, except in particular cases, as where a ship has been manned by drafts from the fleet; in other words, by receiving the skulkers and incorrigibles, frequency of punishment is the most certain proof of unsatisfactory discipline. Either there will be a laxity which encourages by the prospect of impunity, or else a want of system, in which the caprice of the officer is the rule for the moment, and the men can never fall into regular habits. Sir Edward's observation had taught him, that while the power to punish can be entrusted only to the discretion of the commander, it is right, on every ground, that some check should be imposed on the exercise of it. Accordingly, soon after he went to India, he required a monthly return of punishments from every ship in his fleet; and the Admiralty, struck with the simplicity of the plan, and not less with the excellent effects, adopted it for all the navy. This was the first step in the milder and more effectual system of discipline which has since prevailed; and if he had no other claim than to have originated this, it would be sufficient to entitle him to the gratitude of every officer and man in the service.

He sailed from India in February, 1809, with a fleet of Indiamen under his convoy. Off the Isle of France they encountered a violent hurricane, in which the Culloden was in the greatest danger. For three days no provisions could be cooked, and the crew subsisted chiefly on dry rice, with a dram every four hours. So violent was the motion of the ship, as she rolled from broadside to broadside, that the chain-pumps were almost useless. All the quarter-boats were lost, the quarter-galleries washed away, and three of the dead-lights stove. Fortunately her bottom was sound, but she broke much in the upper works; the bolts working themselves loose, and many of the knees giving way. Even the cabin bulkheads were thrown down. It was suggested to the Admiral, who was almost constantly on deck, encouraging the men at the pumps, that the ship would be materially eased if the upper-deck guns were thrown overboard. He replied, "I do not think it necessary; she will do very well, and what would become of the convoy if we meet an enemy?" It was his intention, if the gale had continued, to cut away the mainmast, which being very heavy, for it weighed twenty-one tons, strained the ship exceedingly. The mizen-mast had given way in the top. Four of the convoy

foundered, and the rest were scattered; but all which escaped the gale re-assembled at St. Helena, and, with the Culloden, arrived safely in England.

CHAPTER IX.

THE expedition to the Scheldt was being fitted out when Sir Edward arrived from India; and had he reached England but a few days sooner, it was understood that he would have received the naval command. The military commander-in-chief, whose friendship he had long enjoyed, wished him to be appointed; but the final arrangements of the Admiralty had been already completed.

Lord Mulgrave afterwards proposed to him to be second in command in the Mediterranean; and suggested that Lord Collingwood would probably be glad to surrender his charge to an officer who possessed the confidence of the Admiralty; for that of late he had repeatedly expressed a desire to be relieved from it on account of his declining health. But Sir Edward, who was not aware of the actual condition of that distinguished Admiral,

declined the offer, for he could not be persuaded that Lord Collingwood would resign a command which he filled so usefully and honourably, as long as he could possibly hold it with advantage to his Country.

He did not remain long unemployed, though he never attempted to create an interest in his favour by any means beyond the faithful discharge of duty. Political intrigue, he has said, does not sit well on a sea-officer; and he would not attach himself to the fortunes of any administration, or party. This, as it is the most honourable, is also in the end the most successful path; but the man who will choose it, travels in a great measure alone and unsupported, and must be prepared for the many attacks to which such a position will expose him. Some annoyance or interference of this kind may have prompted the blunt avowal of independence in the following letter, of the 28th of July, 1810.

"I have no right to the favour of Mr. Percival, or any minister.—I have never intrigued, nor ever will—and as to sneaking after such people, I will not—and as to the command of the Channel fleet, be it Pole, or be it Calder, I care not one straw—and whether I am on the shelf by any new set, is equally indifferent—and for me, who am fifty-

three, except the heartfelt satisfaction of serving my Country in such times, I will never be at the trouble to write a letter to ask a favour of any minister alive. I care not who comes in, or who goes out, and if they send me on shore, well; and if not, it is the same."

In the spring of 1810 he hoisted his flag on board the Christian VII, as commander-in-chief in the North Sea. He rode at anchor with his fleet all the summer, off the mouth of the Scheldt, just in sight of land; while his smaller vessels were actively employed along the whole line of coast. He frequently stood into the Scheldt in a cutter, that he might reconnoitre the enemy's fleet in person. A gale from the eastward having blown the fleet off the coast, it was at anchor in the Downs, when a gun-brig arrived with intelligence that the enemy had dropped down to the Western Scheldt, apparently ready to sail. He ordered the fleet to sea immediately; but many of them having made signal of inability, for the pilots refused to get them under weigh, he sent for the chief pilot of the flag-ship, and questioned him if it were practicable to take out a ship in such weather. The pilot having reported that it was quite safe, even for the Christian VII, which from her great length was the least manageable

ship in the fleet; much more so for the others, some of which worked like a cutter, the Admiral made signal for all captains and pilots to come on board. He then enforced his order to sail, declaring that he would hang the pilot who should run his ship on shore; and to give effect to this threat, he caused gantlets to be rove to the yard-arms. The fleet sailed, and beat across the North Sea to their station, without an accident; and the enemy returned to their former anchorage as soon as the blockading force appeared. As the autumn advanced, the pilots gave up the charge of the fleet; but Sir Edward kept his station, until the increasing severity of the gales compelled him to take shelter in the Downs.

In the spring of 1811, he succeeded Sir Charles Cotton as commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean. He proceeded to his station in the Caledonia, with his brother Israel, then a Rear-admiral, as captain of the fleet; and arrived off Toulon on the 18th of July. Next morning, two French frigates returning from Genoa with conscripts for the fleet, were chased by the Conqueror and Sultan, the inshore squadron; and the French commander, Vice-admiral Comte Emeriau, sailed out with thirteen line-of-battle ships and a frigate, to protect them. The Conqueror approached near

enough to fire upon the frigates, and afterwards, with her consort, exchanged a few distant broadsides with the advanced ships of the enemy: but these, whose only object was to secure the frigates, did not wait for the main body of the British force, now fast coming up, but hastened back to their anchorage. This affair, with the evident high state of equipment of the French fleet, led all to expect that there would soon be a general action; a hope in which the Admiral fully participated. He writes thus on the 28th of December, 1811, when the fleet was on its way to Mahon:—

"My dear brother — I would not permit a ship to sail direct for England without carrying you a few lines to say we are all well, on our way to replenish our provisions and water for the winter's cruise: when this is done, we return to our old ground; or it is possible we may attempt to lay in Hyères Bay, should we find the ground good for winter gales, of which at present we are not quite assured. We lay there a month in full expectation it would force the enemy to give us battle, and it will probably at last compel them to do so next spring. They are actively fortifying the islands and bay all around, in order to guard

against attack, and have at least ten thousand men at work: they suspect our army will move this way. As far as we can judge from appearances, I have never yet seen a French fleet in half the order the Toulon one is. They have, I am sorry to say, adopted but too many of our arrangements, and in point of clothing, they exceed us. They also keep every body on board, so that the French officers are now of necessity obliged to find amusement in their duty; and become acquainted with their people. The ships are magnificent; four of 120 guns, larger than Caledonia, and twelve fine two-deckers, are all ready and manned. Two of 120, and two of 80 are building, and may launch by March or April; so that I think we shall have twenty to fight, without any from Genoa, Naples, or Venice; and I trust a glorious day we shall have. Keats is a host of strength to me; and we are all well together, eager for the day, which I trust will help to put an end to the miseries of war, and the irksome eighteen years' confinement between wooden walls we have all experienced.

God be with you ever,

My dear Sam,

Your truly affectionate brother,

E. PELLEW."

The hopes of the fleet were disappointed; for the enemy came out only when the wind was fair to return; and thus, though they often allowed the advanced ships to approach nearly within gun-shot, nothing was, or could be done, on those occasions.

In the following week, prompted perhaps by the recollections of the new year, he again writes:—

"I never expect to live the war through, and am not at all anxious about it. If I can only have the happiness of doing service to the Country, I would give a great deal to be ten years younger; but as that cannot be, I must content myself with the reflection that my children are good, and provided for; and that I leave them attached to their mother, and to each other. We have all reason to be thankful, and to praise God for his great and manifold mercies. We are ready to start at a moment's notice, and have a strict look-out. The enemy are also ready, sixteen sail, a three-decker of 140 guns launched Christmas day.

"God bless you, and yours; and may he enable me to do honour to my Country and my family — for myself, I care not."

The number of points which required to be constantly watched, for more than 2000 miles of coast, from the Ionian Islands to Gibraltar, was in the hands of the enemy, made a considerable force necessary; and the Mediterranean fleet was at this time one of the largest ever entrusted to an Admiral. The commander-in-chief, with a principal part of the line-of-battle ships, blockaded the French fleet in Toulon, cruising off that port from the beginning of March to the end of November, and sheltering in Mahon through the three winter months. A Rear-admiral was kept at Malta, with a sufficient force under his direction to guard the different points of the station at the upper part of the Mediterranean. Another Rear-admiral was stationed on the south coast of Spain, to watch the movements of the enemy, and to assist the Spaniards whenever they could assemble in numbers to make a stand. A third remained at Gibraltar; and a Commodore, with a ship of the line, and frigates, watched the Gulf of Genoa, and the western coast of Italy. Frigates and small vessels were detached wherever their services became necessary.

Knowing from his own experience what could be done by the flag-officers and captains of his fleet, he was enabled to assign to all of them their

respective duties in the full confidence that they would not disappoint him. He associated much with them, and was in the habit of freely communicating his ideas, as well on general subjects connected with the movements of the fleet, as on their own personal charge. By his prompt measures, and personal attention to the repairs, victualling, and storing of the fleet, and his care to obtain ample supplies of stores and provisions from England in such good time as never to be deficient in any necessary article, he kept all the ships in a high state of equipment, and afforded at the same time an example of activity and forethought which was not lost upon his officers. He was attentive to every thing which affected the discipline of the crews, and was particularly strict in enforcing regulations for constant exercise at the great guns, and small arms.

How perfect was the discipline of the fleet may be inferred from the fact that with so many ships, and on a station where the enemy had the chief part of his naval force, he lost, in three years that he held the command, not a single vessel by capture; and only one, a small gun-brig, by shipwreck. It may be added, that through almost twenty years of command in war, as Commodore and Admiral, no vessel under his orders was ever

taken. Something of this may be ascribed to fortune; but more must be referred to the excellence of the officers and crews; which, when the results are so uniform, is in fact also the praise of the commander. Indeed the superiority of the Mediterranean fleet was so well known, that a naval historian, complaining of the dearth of good seamen on other stations, laments that "so many thousands of the very best of seamen, who, under the wise regulations of Sir Edward Pellew, were daily improving themselves in the neglected art of gunnery, should be denied the power of showing their proficiency where it was the most wanted."

He was particularly anxious to keep down the expense of the fleet, and indefatigable in his exertions to œconomize stores of every description, which at this time were procured from home with much difficulty. When it was found that fresh water could be obtained at the mouths of the Rhone, the fleet went there, and usually completed in forty-eight hours. He was thus enabled to discharge several transports. In the strong north-west gales, so common in the Gulf of Lyons, the ships were in the practice of furling sails every night, and driving off from Toulon, standing in-shore again under easy sail when the gale moderated. During the winter months, when he

sheltered in Mahon harbour, the ships had their repairs made good, and their stores and provisions completed; the Admiral being as active in the dockyard, where he would often be found at the earliest dawn of the morning, as he showed himself when afloat. Care was taken that while the fleet thus lay in harbour, it should always be ready for an immediate start if the enemy should put to sea; and two frigates, occasionally with a line-of-battle ship, were kept off Toulon to make a daily observation of the state and movements of their force. On two occasions, the in-shore frigates particularly distinguished themselves. On the 22nd of September, 1811, the Volontaire and Perlen retreated from a division of three line-of-battle ships, and two frigates, with which they were repeatedly engaged during six hours; and saved themselves through their admirable seamanship without loss: and in the following May, the Menelaus alone, when close in-shore, was chased by several line-of-battle ships; and though her fore-topmast was nearly cut in two by a shot from the batteries, she secured it, and escaped.

Competent masters were provided for the young gentlemen of the Caledonia, who were assembled every day in the Admiral's fore cabin and kept closely at their studies; the Admiral himself often

visiting them, and interesting himself in their progress. The French and Spanish interpreters instructed them in these languages: the flag-lieutenant superintended their navigation; and that they might perfect themselves in seamanship, a frigate-built yacht of eight or ten tons was provided, upon which they were exercised in sailing, rigging and unrigging, and every part of a practical seaman's duty. All the arrangements of the ship, with regard both to officers and men, displayed consideration for their comfort and advantage. When the Admiral thoroughly knew his officers, he confided in them in their respective situations, never teazing them with interference, or disturbing himself by unnecessary watching or anxiety, after his orders had been given. The influence which he exerted on their behalf, and his great success in obtaining promotion for them, gave every one the strongest inducement to excel. He had known the anxieties of a young man forcing his way through the service without friends; and his own recollections taught him how best to assist and encourage others.

No man could be more careful of the reputation and feelings of his officers, or more ready to suggest a plea in excuse for their errors. At a particular period of his command, and on a very

important occasion, one of his captains placed him in a position of much embarrassment, by entering into an imprudent treaty, which he had no authority to make. The commander-in-chief arrived very soon after, and annulled the treaty; but he spared the officer the pain of his humiliating position by charging him with the most prominent and honourable service connected with his own arrangements. In his despatches to the Admiralty on the occasion, he touches very lightly on the offence, but enforces every exculpatory plea. Of the unauthorized arrangement with the enemy, he merely writes, "which I should have been glad he had never entered upon;" yet, he adds, "from my conviction that he had been actuated by the purest motives, and placed in a peculiar situation, I thought it right in acknowledging his letter, to express my approbation of his general proceedings; and in consideration of all the circumstances connected with his engagements, I gave him my sanction to," &c. He then proceeds to describe the flattering trust he had committed to this officer.

But kind as he was, he endured no relaxation of discipline, and never forgot the proper dignity of his station. His manners were formed by his character; and whenever an individual with

commanding talents directs them to suitable objects, combining a due sense of what he owes to himself with a proper consideration for others, he will always, and without an effort, appear dignified and amiable: far more so in his unaffected simplicity than the man who only assumes the character of the chief and patron, because his position requires it.

His temper was warm, the common failing of quick and active minds. No one was more conscious of it than himself; and where he feared it had given pain, he would labour to remove the impression by marked and continued attentions. In the multiplicity of cares and duties which surround a commander-in-chief there are so many sources of irritation and disappointment, that it is no wonder the mind should be sometimes brought to that extreme point of endurance, when a small additional annoyance destroys its equanimity.

The service in the Mediterranean was one of multiplied details, individually too unimportant for history, yet calculated to influence materially the progress and result of the war. Along the eastern coast of Spain, the support and co-operation of the ships afforded that encouragement to the inhabitants, which in the western provinces

they derived from the presence of the British army. Even when the fortresses had fallen, and Spain had no longer a regular force for a rallying point in that part of the country, the guerillas acting in concert with the fleet, were enabled to perform exploits which alarmed and distressed the invader, and kept alive the spirit of hope and resolution. Along the shores of Italy and France, the most daring and brilliant enterprises were continually achieved. Batteries and forts were stormed even in open day; and prizes, sometimes in whole convoys, carried off from anchorages where they might justly have deemed themselves unassailable. Looking at the evident danger of such attempts, one is astonished at the constant success which attended them, and at the generally inconsiderable loss sustained. It would be unjust to the courage of the enemy, and still more to that of the gallant officers and men who performed such services, not to state the cause of this impunity and success. It was not that the defences on shore were feebly maintained, or that their defenders were surprised and overpowered by the reckless desperation of the assailants; but that the different boat attacks were planned with a judgment, and supported by a force which prevented effectual resistance.

Officers such as Hoste, Gordon, Rowley, Maxwell, Duncan, Ussher, and indeed all, for no commander ever placed more general and deserved confidence in his officers than Sir Edward Pellew, were not men to send away their people on doubtful and desperate services. The Admiral himself, much as he admired enterprise, strongly discouraged all acts of useless daring. He was always most unwilling to risk men's lives in boat attacks, when they could not be supported by the fire from the ships; and when his own boats were necessarily detached on service, his anxiety for their safety was very great. But the men, who saw in these successes only the daring courage which obtained, but not the considerate judgment which planned them, learned to fancy themselves invincible, and would go to what might appear a death service, as if it were an excursion of pleasure. The crew of the Imperieuse, who had often distinguished themselves in these attacks, petitioning their captain to remain with them, when he had been appointed to a finer ship, offered to prove their attachment to him by taking any two French frigates they could meet. It is right to add that their captain, a son of the great and good Lord Duncan, submitted their petition to Sir Edward Pellew, who continued him with

his faithful followers. "You are a brave nation," said Napoleon at Elba to an English captain, one of Sir Edward's officers, "so are the French; but the English are individually brave." Services like these create the individual bravery which Napoleon admired.

Still more important was the moral influence which these attacks impressed on the enemy. When the inhabitants along the southern coasts of Europe could scarcely look upon the waters without seeing an English cruiser; when they saw the apparent ease with which their strongest defences were carried; when they felt themselves at the mercy of the assailants, yet always experienced their forbearance and protection; the respect felt for an enemy so powerful and generous, taught them to desire the more earnestly their own day of deliverance from the common tyrant. And when the tremendous judgment which visited him in the Russian campaign offered the prospect of his speedy and final overthrow, every facility existed for acquainting them with the full extent of his reverses, and preparing them to avail themselves of the earliest opportunity to assert their freedom. "Affairs in these countries," says Sir Edward, in one of his letters, "look well, and promise much next summer, all

over the East. Detestation, amounting to horror, is the general expression against this tyrant of the earth."

The ordinary cares and duties of his command, and his very extensive correspondence, for the number of letters he was in the habit of writing on service was almost incredible, were by no means Sir Edward's heaviest charge. Perhaps there was no ambassador on whom a greater diplomatic responsibility was imposed, than the commander in the Mediterranean. It formed by much the largest, and most anxious portion of Collingwood's duties; and the greatness of the trust; the impossibility of confiding it to another than the commander on the station, and the uncommon ability with which Collingwood sustained it, gave the British Government much uneasiness when the state of that officer's health threatened to deprive them of his services. It increased materially in extent and importance after Sir Edward had succeeded to the command, when the reverses of the French in Russia, opened a prospect of deliverance to all the states along the shores of the Mediterranean, including the southern provinces of France itself. Sir Edward exerted himself unceasingly to prepare them for this consummation, and to encourage them to seize the first opportunity

to effect it; and the judgment he displayed in these services obtained from a British Cabinet Minister the declaration that, "great as he may be as a sea-officer, he is still greater as a statesman."

One professional distinction was yet wanting, and this he anxiously desired, as a means of hastening an honourable peace, and on personal grounds, perhaps, to connect his name with the history of his Country,—to command in a general action. Though the enemy had shrunk from meeting him, as he expected when he first assumed the command, yet, while they continued to build ships of the largest class, and to keep their fleet always ready for sea, he could not but hope that they only waited for a favourable opportunity to try the fortune of their flag. At the end of 1811 there were sixteen sail of the line in Toulon. Two others were launched next year; and by the close of 1813, there were twenty-two, of which six were three-deckers of the largest dimensions. Sir Edward gave them every opportunity, and every prudent advantage, but he never could induce them to attack him. They had been forbidden to engage, and the emperor had hitherto seen nothing to induce him to recall the order. Thus, though they were kept in a state of high equipment

through the whole period of Sir Edward's command, they never ventured far beyond the protection of the batteries; and came out only when they had a leading wind to return.

The restoration of his fleet was a favourite ulterior object with Napoleon; and if a different result of the Russian campaign had placed the resources of Europe at his command, there is no doubt but that the days of St. Vincent and Trafalgar would have been renewed. There was an English officer who was much in his presence and confidence at Elba, and to whom he proposed the most flattering inducements to enter his service. "I am honoured by your majesty's offer," was the reply, "but I was born an Englishman." — Conversing with him on naval affairs, he one day said, "I would have had two hundred sail of the line; and when I brought against you such a force, you must have been crushed." But the officer soon convinced him that the tactics which he had made so effectual, by concentrating an overwhelming force upon his enemy, were not applicable to naval operations. Sailors are made but slowly. It requires an able commander to direct twenty ships, and the most skilful could scarcely manœuvre forty. Dark nights and gales would disperse the unwieldy armada; and a small, but well-managed

force, would hang upon it, and destroy it in detail. The Emperor saw the force of the objections, and closed the conversation with the compliment already related.

Once, towards the end of the war, an opportunity seemed to be offered by which the enemy might be compelled to sacrifice part of his fleet, or to risk a general battle. On the morning of November 5th, 1813, the French fleet had sailed out of Toulon with the wind at E.S.E., and advanced to a greater distance than usual, when the wind suddenly shifted to south-west. Immediately the enemy made every exertion to work back to their harbour. The main body of the British fleet was just in sight to the southward, and an advanced squadron of four sail, with a fifth at no great distance, was about half-way between the two fleets. This squadron lay up for the enemy under all sail, with every appearance of being able to cut off the rear ships, the Wagram of 130 guns, with four two-deckers, and four frigates. On the approach of the British, the enemy tacked, and stood in so close, that many thought they intended to run themselves on shore; but they again tacked off to the southward, and the advanced squadron stood on with every prospect of passing to windward of them. Unfortunately, as the

British ships approached, the wind headed them, and threw them off so much, that they only fetched just into gunshot of the Wagram, the enemy's rear ship. The fleet was at this time bringing up the original wind, and the Caledonia, San Josef, and Boyne actually fetched within gun-shot of the French Admiral, before the wind headed them. The Wagram, which had reserved her fire for the Caledonia, exchanged broadsides with her, but at too great a distance to produce material effect; and the enemy being so far to windward, succeeded in reaching Toulon. Eleven shots from the Wagram and the batteries struck the Caledonia, wounding the mainmast, cutting some of the shrouds, and destroying a small boat upon the booms. Much disappointment was naturally felt by all the fleet, and the conduct of the advanced squadron was strongly censured by many in the ships a-stern, who supposed that they had intentionally bore away, when in fact they had come up within the influence of the head wind.

A more serious, though very partial affair occurred in the following February. On the evening of the 12th, Rear-Admiral Kosmao Kerjulien sailed from Toulon, with three sail of the line, and three frigates, to escort a seventy-four which was expected from Genoa. On the following morning,

the fleet returning from Mahon, discovered the enemy to the eastward of Hyères Islands. They were at first supposed to be British ships, but the Admiral himself going aloft, clearly made out their character. The Boyne, Captain Burlton, a small three-decker, sister ship to the Victory, was considerably in advance of the fleet. It was on Sunday, and the ships were preparing for the morning service, which had already commenced on board the Boyne, when the signal for a general chase was thrown out. The wind blew strong from E.S.E., and the Boyne, perceiving the enemy's intention to come through the little pass of Hyères Bay, stood for that pass to intercept them. Sir Edward, who was leaning on the foreyard, watched her with admiration, but extreme anxiety. "Hold on my brave Burlton!" he exclaimed, as the Boyne dashed at their whole force. Then, as he feared they would all close, and overpower her before he could arrive to her assistance, he turned to an officer at his side, and declared with energy, "if they take her, they sha'nt keep her, for I'll go in with the fleet!"

Passing through the enemy immediately a-stern of a frigate, to which she gave a broadside, the Boyne separated the rear-ship from the others, and brought her to action. This ship, the

Romulus, a two-decker, immediately hauled in for the north shore, and kept so close, going around all the bays, that the Boyne could neither run her on board, nor get inside her. They ran side by side with studding sails set, and at the rate of ten knots, before the wind, which blew directly into Toulon. Once it was thought that the Romulus was aground, as she luffed up to the wind, which brought all her sails aback, and her starboard lower studding-sail in upon the gangway. The Boyne also backed her sails, and continued close to the enemy; but the Romulus paying off, and filling again, continued to run alongshore, and when she reached Cape Brun, at the entrance of the harbour, had gained on the Boyne. The Caledonia had by this time come up, and the Admiral waved to Captain Burlton to haul his wind to the southward. The Boyne tacked accordingly, being then within pistol shot of Cape Brun battery; and the Caledonia fired a broadside at the Romulus, as she ran in to join her consorts in the harbour. The Caledonia then gave the Boyne three hearty cheers, and Captain Burlton received the thanks of the commander-in-chief by signal.

Napoleon was now contending for existence on the soil of France, and the remains of his

former conquests were rapidly melting from him. In the course of January and February, every place in the Adriatic had surrendered. In the following month, Lord William Bentinck left Palermo with an army, supported by a squadron under Commodore J. Rowley, to reduce Genoa. The advanced guard was landed considerably to the eastward, and moved forward, supported by the squadron, carrying and dismantling the batteries as they advanced. On the 30th, the defences around the Gulf of Spezzia capitulated. On the 13th of April, the army was landed at Recce, in the Gulf of Genoa; and at day-break on the 17th, a joint attack was made by the land and sea forces on the defences around the place. These were carried in the course of the day; and preparations were in progress to attack the town, when Sir Edward Pellew arrived with several line-of-battle ships. The governor, already alarmed at the rapid progress of the assailants, capitulated, and the town was taken possession of next morning. Four gun-brigs, and a number of merchant vessels were found in the mole; and the Brilliant, a fine seventy-four on the stocks, was launched, and still remains in the navy under the appropriate name of the Genoa.

Paris had already capitulated; and on the 28th

of this month, Napoleon left France in a British frigate for Elba. He landed on the 3rd of May on the little island which had been assigned to him for a sovereignty, and a prison: and thus ended a war, one of the longest, the most dreadful, but in all respects the most glorious, which England had ever waged.

CHAPTER X.

THE contest for naval supremacy was so entirely decided by the battle of Trafalgar, that no opportunity was afterwards afforded for great successes. But at the end of the war, when the leading Peninsular generals were raised to the peerage, it was thought due to the service to confer a similar distinction upon a naval officer. Sir Edward Pellew received this mark of his sovereign's favour. He was created Baron Exmouth, of Canonteign, a mansion and estate in the south of Devon which he had purchased for a family property; and the pension was settled on him which is usually granted when a peerage is conferred for eminent public services.

He was still in the Mediterranean when the news of his elevation reached him, and he received the first account of it from a newspaper. In allusion to it he writes: — "I was never more

surprised than at this event. Never was man more ignorant of its being thought of; much less reason had I to expect it; and it has happened only by a combination of events quite unconnected with influence or power. I had some reason to believe a red ribbon was intended, and —— wrote that it had been granted; but if so, it was changed next day to what it is, which for the sake of our family, I hope will be useful and respectable. For myself I am indifferent, and know it will only tend to multiply my enemies, and increase my difficulties." .... In the course of this year, he received a handsome compliment from the officers of the Mediterranean fleet. It is a beautiful model of the Warwick vase, executed by Messrs. Rundel and Bridge, at a cost of 580 guineas, and bears the following inscription: — "Presented to the Right Honourable Admiral Lord Exmouth, &c. &c. &c., as a mark of their respect and esteem, by the officers who served under his Lordship's command in the Mediterranean."

At the beginning of the next year, when the order of the Bath was extended, he was included among the knights commanders; and was afterwards advanced on an early vacancy to be a grand cross. The former was entirely unexpected, as he knew nothing of the intention to extend the

order. He thus begins a letter to his brother on the 5th of January: — "I seize this moment, when the arrival of the post has brought me the enclosed without one single line from any friend I have on earth: possibly, it was owing to the lateness of the nomination. I had not the most distant idea of this event, and I can only account for its coming to me by the squabbling of parties; to end which it was probably decided on giving it to the commander-in-chief. On this ground only can I account for it, as it was by no means necessary to add this, which was once considered due to me as a reward of sufficient magnitude, without adding any other.

"6th January, 1815 — I had written the above before any gazette reached me, which explains the whole. But as it shows my heart and mind to you without reserve, and as I can call God to witness, that I never in my life kept anything from you, I send it. — May God bless you."

He had remained but a few months in England, when on the renewal of hostilities consequent on the return of Napoleon from Elba, he was sent back to the Mediterranean. Hoisting his flag in the Boyne, and again with his brother, Sir Israel, as captain of the fleet, he hastened to his station. His services were first required at Naples, which

he was so happy as to save from all the horrors of anarchy. Murat, that he might create a diversion in favour of Napoleon, had rashly attacked Austria, and thus violated the compact by which he was allowed to hold his usurped throne. What followed scarcely deserves the name of war. His army, not waiting for the enemy to approach, fled like sheep, and left the Austrian commander an unresisted march to Naples. Lord Exmouth, after having arranged with Lord W. Bentinck for the co-operation of the forces from Sicily with the allies, had arrived on the evening of the 18th of May, at Civita Vecchia, whence, on learning the rapid advance of the Austrians, he proceeded without delay to Naples, where he anchored, on the evening of the 20th. Madame Murat embarked the same night, on board a British seventy-four, and immediately wrote to Lord Exmouth, requesting that he would take measures for the security and peace of the city. No capital in Europe contains within itself more formidable elements for popular tumult; and upon this occasion, the mob, excited by the general confusion, and not restrained by any adequate authority, were proceeding to the last excesses of rapine and violence. Lord Exmouth was not slow to take the steps which such an emergency required. On the morning after

his arrival, he landed the marines, who took possession of the forts, and castle of St. Elmo, and conjointly with the civic guard, restored, and maintained order. On the 23rd, the Austrian army entered the city, and next day the forts were delivered up, and the marines embarked. The king, Ferdinand, was unbounded in his expressions of gratitude, and invested him on the spot with his highest order.

After having concluded some very difficult and delicate negotiations respecting the queen and court of Murat, who were eventually sent to Trieste, Lord Exmouth proposed to General Bianci, to embark a few thousand men, and make a dash at Toulon. Unfortunately, the instructions of the Austrian Commander would not allow him to join in such an expedition. The squadron therefore sailed for Leghorn, where it landed the first division of the Austrian army, and thence proceeded to Genoa. Accounts received on the 3rd of July of the situation of affairs on the coast of Provence determined Lord Exmouth, in concert with Sir Hudson Lowe, to embark 3000 men, part of the garrison of Genoa, consisting of the 14th, and two Italian regiments, and including 200 artillery and cavalry; with which he sailed direct for Marseilles. Here the troops were

landed, with a body of seamen, and the marines of the squadron, and stopped the advance of the rebel Marshal Brune, who was marching from Toulon upon Marseilles avowedly to destroy it. The inhabitants, grateful to their preservers, were unceasing in their attentions both to the fleet and army, as long as they remained in the place. Their sense of the important services which the Admiral had rendered, as well to their city, as to the cause of their rightful sovereign, was marked by the present of a large and beautiful piece of plate, which was executed at Paris. On its base is a medallion of the noble Admiral; and a view of the Port of Marseilles, with the Boyne, his flagship, entering in full sail. It bears the simple and expressive inscription, — "A l' Amiral mi Lord Exmouth, la ville de Marseilles reconnoissante."

The squadron wintered in Leghorn roads, being detained in the Mediterranean for instructions, which were delayed for some time, through the magnitude of the negotiations then in progress. At the beginning of 1816, Lord Exmouth was ordered to proceed to the different Barbary Powers, to claim the release of all the Ionian slaves, who, by the late political arrangements, had become British subjects; and to make peace for

Sardinia. These were to be matters of compulsion; but he was also to make peace for any of the other States in the Mediterranean who would authorise him to do so. Naples readily availed herself of his offer. Unable to protect herself, it was to her an inestimable blessing to gain security from such a dreadful scourge on the easiest terms which the influence of the first maritime Power could obtain for her. Nothing can be conceived more horrible than the condition of the Christian slaves, subjected as they were, in countries where no law gave protection, to all the caprice and cruelty of masters, who hated and despised them for their faith. Nor was it a small aggravation of their misery, that as Catholics, they were cut off from the observance of rites which they had been taught to regard as essential. To the fear and danger of being reduced to this miserable condition was the maritime population of the States around the Mediterranean continually exposed: while the great naval Powers, deterred from exterminating these pirates, either by more pressing concerns, or by the failure of the different expeditions which had attempted it, purchased a discreditable security by presents.

Lord Exmouth afterwards visited Rome; but the pope declined the offer of his services, perhaps

from difficulties arising out of religious scruples at confiding a formal trust to a Protestant. He received the Admiral however with the utmost courtesy, and even attended to his request upon a subject where it was scarcely to have been expected that the interference of a Protestant would be allowed. A young Spanish lady, who was confined in a convent at Minorca, under circumstances of an oppressive and distressing nature, had contrived to bring her case to the knowledge of Lord Exmouth, and to place in his hands a memorial, which he took an opportunity to deliver personally to the pope. A British Admiral interceding with the pope for a Spanish nun was a novel occurrence; but Pius VII. received the memorial very graciously, and placed it in the hands of Gonsalvi, that proper inquiries might be made. It is satisfactory to add, that Lord Exmouth received a letter a few months after, informing him that the poor girl's prayer had been complied with.

Before he took any steps in fulfilment of his instructions, he made the arrangements necessary for an attack, which was to be the alternative if negotiations failed; a result much to be expected at Algiers, which had hitherto withstood so many formidable armaments. He ordered Captain

Warde, of the Banterer, to proceed to Algiers, where he was carefully to observe the town, and the nature of its defences. Lord Exmouth's instructions on this occasion, and which were written with his own hand, afford an admirable illustration of the forethought, with which he provided for every contingency, and which was the chief secret of his constant success.*

It were injustice to Captain Warde to state how he performed this difficult and important service in any language but that of the Admiral. In his despatch which accompanied the treaty made with Tripoli, and which he sent to the Admiralty when proceeding on his second visit to Algiers, he writes : — "Previous to my leaving Leghorn, I despatched Captain Warde in the Banterer to Algiers, to make his observations on the anchorage, and sea defences, which service he performed with entire secrecy and judgment, and highly to my satisfaction. The accompanying plan of the works, with his remarks after visiting all the forts and arsenal, I found correct in every respect; and when it is considered that he had not the means of taking angles, but was compelled to pace the distances, and trust much to his

* Appendix G.

recollection, to avoid being suspected, I think him deserving of the highest commendation. The soundings round the mole, and the bay to the N.W. of the light-house, were all made by him personally in the night without discovery; nor did even the consul suspect the purport of his visit."*

It adds to the merit of this officer, that all the previous plans of Algiers were so incorrect that he was obliged to begin his own from the outlines, as if the place were a new discovery. Lord Exmouth afterwards declared that if he had proceeded to hostilities at his first visit, without having been furnished with Captain Warde's plan and observations, he should have assigned to the ships stations which they could not have occupied. The plan in the Admiralty book of charts, among other inaccuracies, laid down the sea-face of the city as four miles long, instead of one; omitted the bay to the north-west of the light-house; represented the pier on which the strong fortifications are built as quite straight from the light-house in a southerly direction, whereas it forms a quarter of the compass, bending round to the south-west, or towards the city; and laid the distance between the piers at the entrance of the mole, a mile, instead of sixty,

* Appendix H.

or sixty-five fathoms. Notwithstanding this, and his great disadvantages arising out of the secrecy he was compelled to observe, Captain Warde's observations were so accurate and complete, that Lord Exmouth afterwards sent to the Admiralty his original plan, to illustrate the despatches of the battle.

Thus prepared for every alternative, Lord Exmouth made known to the squadron the service upon which they were proceeding in the following General Order :—

" Boyne, Port Mahon, 21st March, 1816.

" GEN. MEM.

" The Commander-in-chief embraces the earliest moment in which he could inform the fleet of his destination, without inconvenience to the public service.

" He has been instructed and directed by his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, to proceed with the fleet to Algiers, and there make certain arrangements for diminishing at least the piratical excursions of the Barbary States, by which thousands of our fellow-creatures, innocently following their commercial pursuits, have been dragged into the most wretched and revolting state of slavery.

" The Commander-in-chief is confident that this outrageous system of piracy and slavery,

rouses in common the same spirit of indignation, which he himself feels; and should the government of Algiers refuse the reasonable demands he bears from the Prince Regent, he doubts not but the flag will be honourably and zealously supported by every officer and man under his command, in his endeavours to procure the acceptation of them by force; and if force must be resorted to, we have the consolation of knowing, that we fight in the sacred cause of humanity, and cannot fail of success.

" These arrangements being made at Algiers and Tunis, the Commander-in-chief announces with pleasure, that he is ordered to proceed with all the ships not on the peace-establishment to Spithead without delay; except the Bombay, bearing the flag of Rear-Admiral Sir Charles Penrose, which ship is to be relieved by the Albion, daily expected.

(Signed) EXMOUTH.

" N. B. This General Memorandum to be entered in the public order book, and communicated to the respective officers, seamen, and marines of the fleet."

The squadron went in the first place to Algiers, where Lord Exmouth obtained the objects of his

mission without difficulty. The Ionian slaves were freely released as British subjects; and peace was made for Naples and Sardinia, the former paying a ransom of five hundred, the latter of three hundred dollars a head. The fleet then sailed for Tunis, where accident gave an entirely new character to the subsequent proceedings. Lord Exmouth had directed the interpreter to tell the Bey that it would be very agreeable to the Prince Regent if slavery were abolished; but the interpreter, by mistake, said that the Prince Regent had determined to abolish it. Upon this, the negotiation was suspended; and the Divan assembled. Lord Exmouth soon became aware of the mistake, and availing himself of the important advantage which it gave him, he allowed them two hours for deliberation, and retired to the consul's house to await the result. Before the time expired, he was sent for, and informed that the Divan had deliberated on his proposal, and would comply with it. Proceeding to Tripoli, he made a similar demand, and it was there submitted to without hesitation.

In the meantime, he had received instructions to claim from Algiers the privilege of selling prizes, and refitting privateers in that port, which had lately been granted by treaty to America.

Returning on this errand, he took the opportunity to press, as at the other Regencies, the abolition of Christian slavery; but here he had a more formidable power to deal with. His demand was refused; and when he hinted at the alternative of force, the Dey answered as a man confident in his strength to resist it. Lord Exmouth assured him that he formed a very inadequate idea of a British man-of-war, and declared that if hostilities should become necessary, he would engage with five line-of-battle ships to destroy the place. A very sharp altercation ensued; and Lord Exmouth left the Divan, giving them two hours to consider his proposal. When the time expired, he took Mr. M'Donell, the consul, and walked with him towards the boat; but they were stopped at the gate. After a communication had been made to the Dey, Lord Exmouth was allowed to pass on, but the consul was detained, on the pretext that money was due from Portugal, for which, as well as for England, Mr. M'Donell was accredited. The whole party had been in the greatest danger. The crowd who surrounded them discussed aloud the question of putting them all to death; and the conduct of the captain of the port was extremely suspicious. He was observed to cock his pistol, and Sir Israel Pellew, exclaiming, "at least we'll

die with arms in our hands," attempted to draw his sword. Happily, the pressure of the throng prevented him; for in the temper which then prevailed, the appearance of a hostile movement would probably have been fatal. Lord Exmouth was much irritated at this outrage; and when one of the principal officers of state followed, and asked him, as he was just stepping into the boat, to allow them two days to consider his proposal, he replied, with warmth, "No! not two hours!" Hastening on board, he got the fleet under weigh to attack the place immediately; but the wind was too strong to allow the ships to take their stations, and they were obliged to anchor again.

Two British officers, Captains Pechell and Warde, had gone on shore, not anticipating a hostile movement. They were seized by the people, who dragged them off their horses, rifled their pockets, tied their hands behind them, and in this state marched them through the town to the presence of the Dey. But when they reached the palace, they were immediately released; and except some trifling articles, which could not be found, all their property was restored. After two or three interviews with the Dey, the object of which appeared to be to investigate the cause of a cut which Captain Pechell had received in the

hand, when he was taken off the horse, they were allowed to go to their ships. Such conduct, at a moment when Lord Exmouth was evidently preparing to attack the place, indicated an irresolution which might enable him to gain his object without a battle; and next morning, as a calm with a heavy swell prevented the fleet from moving, he sent Captain Dundas, of the Tagus, with renewed proposals. The result was, that Sir Israel Pellew, with Captains Brisbane, Pechell, Dundas, Warde, and others, went on shore; and the Dey agreed to appoint an ambassador, who should proceed first to Constantinople for the sanction of the Porte, and thence to England to treat on Lord Exmouth's proposal. It may be supposed that the Admiral would not have endured this evasion, had he been authorised to act; but he had pressed the demand without instructions, and felt that he would not be justified in resorting to force, if it could be creditably avoided. He was not even certain that his conduct in abolishing slavery thus far would be favourably received; for it was a common remark, that the obstructions to the navigation of the Mediterranean, created by the Barbary Corsairs, were advantageous to British commerce. He expresses this doubt in a letter which he sent on shore on

the 23d of June, when the fleet had arrived in the Channel:—"It is with great delight I again bring myself nearer to you and the rest of my family, after a longer absence than I had any reason to expect when I left England, and which has at last ended without realizing that for which it was said we were kept so long abroad after peace was signed. I had anxiously hoped I should have been directed to enforce the abandonment of their cruel system of retaining Christians who fall into their hands (in what they term war) in slavery. I hope I have made the path easy for the Government, having obtained by my own exertions the relinquishment from two States, and a promise to treat on that point from the most violent, Algiers, after discussions which did not promise sometimes amicable terminations. But I intreat you to observe the utmost silence on this point, as it may lead me into an awkward situation; for I have acted solely on my own responsibility, and without orders; the causes and reasoning on which, upon general principles, may be defensible, but as applying to our own Country, may not be borne out, the old mercantile interest being against it."

Four days previous to the date of this letter, a member of the House of Commons had moved

for copies of Lord Exmouth's treaties with Algiers for Naples and Sardinia, and for all the correspondence connected with them. He condemned the principle upon which the treaties had been conducted, because by ransoming the slaves, we had virtually acknowledged the right of these pirates to commit their depredations. He understood that the Algerines, dissatisfied with the Dey for having limited their sphere of plunder, had been pacified only by the assurance that though restrained from cruising against Neapolitan subjects, there still remained a wide field for their enterprise. The Roman States had already felt the effect of the new direction given to their piracies. He then described the wretched condition of the slaves. In one case, out of three hundred prisoners, fifty had died of ill-treatment on the first day of their arrival, and seventy during the first fortnight. The rest were kept in the most miserable condition, being allowed only a pound of bread a day, and subject to the lash from morning to night. No age, no sex was spared. A Neapolitan lady of distinction, carried off with eight children, six of whom survived, had lately been seen by a British officer in the thirteenth year of her captivity. That it might be seen we did not countenance such proceedings, it was necessary

to ascertain what use we had made of our influence in the late negotiations.

The Minister objected to the motion, only however on the ground that all the documents necessary to afford complete information had not yet arrived; and he assured the house, that the cause of humanity had been very materially served by the proceedings of the squadron. An animated debate followed, in which every one expressed the utmost anxiety that the barbarians should be compelled, and by force, if necessary, to relinquish their piracies. This unanimous display of feeling in the House of Commons, ensured to Lord Exmouth full approval for all that he had done, and enabled the Government to take the decisive step which immediately after became necessary. It is, indeed, a subject for just pride, that upon every national question, the feelings of the community have never hesitated to throw themselves upon the side of humanity and justice, however interest may have been opposed to them.

Lord Exmouth had not yet reached England when accounts arrived which determined the Government not to await the issue of the proposed negotiations with Algiers, but at once to exact the most ample satisfaction and security. On the 23d of May, the crews of the coral fishing-vessels at

Bona had landed to attend mass, it being Ascension-day, when they were attacked by a large body of Turkish troops, and most barbarously massacred. Lord Exmouth was at Algiers when this took place; but as Bona is two hundred miles to the eastward, and he sailed as soon as he had agreed with the Dey, he did not hear of it until he arrived in England; and thus it devolved upon the British Government to direct the measures which such an atrocity demanded. Justly concluding that these barbarians, so long the common enemies of the civilized world, and whose very existence was a reproach to it, had filled the measure of their crimes by this last bloody outrage, they determined to exact complete submission, or to inflict the most signal vengeance. They appointed Lord Exmouth to complete his work, and placed at his disposal whatever force he thought necessary to accomplish it.

CHAPTER XI.

THE town of Algiers is built on the declivity of a hill fronting to the eastward. It is of a triangular form, the base being the sea-front, which is about a mile in length, and rises directly from the water. It is strongly fortified on the land side, and the sea defences are most formidable, as well from the great thickness of the walls, as the number of heavy guns.

The harbour is artificial. A broad straight pier, three hundred yards in length, and upon which the storehouses were built, projects from a point about a quarter of a mile from the north extremity of the town. A mole is carried from the end of this pier, which bends in a south-westerly direction towards the town, forming nearly a quarter of a circle. Opposite the mole-head is a small insulated pier, which leaves the entrance to the harbour about a hundred and twenty yards wide. The rock upon which the mole is built extends

about two hundred yards to the N.E. beyond the angle at which the pier joins it. The shores recede considerably from the base of the pier, forming a small bay on either side of it.

All the works around the harbour were covered with the strongest fortifications. Immediately beyond the pier-head, stood the Light-house battery, a large circular fort, with more than fifty guns, in three tiers. The guns in the lower tier were fired through ports, and those in the middle from embrasures on the outer wall; the third tier was mounted upon an inner tower, above which rose the column which supported the lantern of the light-house. At the extremity of the point of rock was a battery, mounting thirty guns and seven mortars in two tiers. The mole itself was filled with cannon, like the side of a line-of-battle ship, mostly disposed in a double tier, with ports below, and embrasures above; but the eastern batteries, next the light-house, had an inner fortification, with a third tier of guns, making sixty-six in these batteries alone. These different batteries had together about two hundred and twenty guns, eighteen, twenty-four, and thirty-two pounders; besides two, at least sixty-eight pounders, and upwards of twenty feet long. On the sea-wall of the town were nine batteries; two at the

southern extremity; then the Fish-market battery in three tiers, bearing three hundred yards west of the molehead; three between the Fish-market and the gate leading to the mole; one over this gate; and two on the wall beyond it. Along the shore, within twelve hundred yards south of the town, were three batteries, and a very heavy fort; and another large fort, and six batteries, commanded the bay to the N.W. Many guns in other parts of the fortifications of the town, and in forts and batteries on the hills around it, were in situations which enabled them to fire upon ships. Altogether, the approaches by sea were defended by scarcely less than five hundred guns.

The Admiralty were greatly surprised when Lord Exmouth proposed to attack these works with five sail of the line. Many naval officers who were consulted by the Board, considered them unassailable. Nelson, in a conversation with Captain Brisbane, had named twenty-five line-of-battle ships as the force which would be required to attack them. The opinion was not founded upon his own observation, and he was evidently misled by the errors in the received plans; for that number of ships could not have been placed before the town; but it marks his sense of the great danger in attacking powerful batteries with

ships, and of the tremendous strength of Algiers. Lord Exmouth was offered any force he required, but he adhered to his first demand; for he had satisfied himself that five ships could destroy the fortifications on the Mole as effectually as a greater number, and with far more safety to themselves. After he had fully explained his plans, and marked the position which every ship was to occupy, the Admiralty allowed him to act upon his own judgment; though they found it not easy to believe that the force was equal to the service; nor were persons wanting to remark that he had at length involved himself in a difficulty, from which he would not escape with credit. His own confidence never wavered. "All will go well," he wrote, "as far at least as it depends on me." As he was going down Channel, he said to his brother, who accompanied him as far as Falmouth, "if they open their fire when the ships are coming up, and cripple them in the masts, the difficulty and loss will be greater; but if they allow us to take our stations, I am sure of them; for I know that nothing can resist a line-of-battle ship's fire." He wrote to the Admiralty before he left England, declaring himself fully satisfied with all the arrangements, and taking on himself the responsibility of the result.

He was scarcely appointed, when officers came forward in crowds to offer their services. On the 29th of June, only six days after he arrived in the Channel, he writes—"Government has taken a very proper view of the subject, and has determined to send out a proper force. I immediately said it was my duty to finish that which I had begun, and that I should cheerfully go. My offer is accepted, and I embark in the Queen Charlotte, with Impregnable, and others. The only delay will be want of men; but I hope they will be induced by the offers made, to volunteer for the service, to be rewarded after it." On the 4th of July, he says, "I have refused Israel, Pownoll, Fleetwood, Harward, and both Admiral and Captain Halsted, volunteers. Even Lord Spencer brought his son, and a hundred others."

With very few exceptions, the officers were selected by the Admiralty. It was understood that Sir Charles Penrose would be the second in command, his appointment at that time as commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean entitling him to the preference. He was very highly valued by Lord Exmouth, under whom he had served with the Cleopatra in the western squadron. It was intended that despatches should be sent in

time to enable him to join the expedition; but greatly to the disappointment of both officers, the information was received too late.

Lord Exmouth persisted in refusing all his relations. The motive of duty, which was imperative on himself, applied to none of them; and all were anxious to go. For himself, he might well trust that the Providence which had shielded him forty years, for so long was it since he had fought the Carleton on Lake Champlain, would guard him in the approaching battle; or, if he were doomed to fall in what might truly be deemed a holy war, he had a better confidence than the pride of a hero, or even the self-devotedness of a patriot. Before he sailed, he made every arrangement which his death would render necessary; and among others, wrote a letter for his eldest son, chiefly on the subject of the duties which would devolve upon him as a British nobleman, and which he designed for his last injunctions. The existence of this letter was not known until some time after his death, when it was found among his papers.

The Admiralty would not send back the squadron which had just returned from the Mediterranean, probably thinking it right that ships going expressly to fight a severe battle, should be

manned with volunteers. This decision greatly increased his difficulties. Naval officers seldom think a ship effective until she has been some time in commission. Within two months, Lord Exmouth commissioned, fitted, and manned a fleet, and fought the battle.

As soon as he had completed his first arrangements at the Admiralty, he hastened to Portsmouth, where the Boyne, his flag-ship, was lying with her consorts. He went on board as soon as he arrived, and there was not a little excitement when the Admiral was seen coming alongside at a very early hour in the morning. He mustered the ship's company on deck, and having read to them the Admiralty letter, invited them to join him; but at that time scarcely a man came forward. They were unwilling to enter for a new service until they had enjoyed some liberty on shore; but after they had been paid off, and spent their money, numbers of them volunteered, and many more would probably have done so, but for the very short time in which the crews were completed. No difficulty was experienced in manning the fleet. The whole ship's company of the Leander, then on the point of sailing as the flag-ship on the North American station, volunteered to go, and accordingly her destination was changed for

the time. Rear-Admiral Milne, for whom she had been fitted, obtained permission to go out with her; and as Sir Charles Penrose did not join at Gibraltar, he hoisted his flag in the Impregnable, as second in command. Among other volunteers, were a number of smugglers, who had been taken on the western coast, and sentenced to five years' service in the navy. They were sent to the eastward as prisoners, in a cutter in which Mr. Pellew had taken a passage to make a parting visit to his brother, and they implored his intercession on their behalf. He advised them to enter for the Queen Charlotte, and gain a title to the indulgence they sought by their good conduct in the battle. They all did so: no serious casualty occurred among them; and they behaved so well, that Lord Exmouth applied to the Admiralty, and obtained their discharge.

Lord Exmouth's marine officer in the Arethusa, the present Sir Richard Williams, then commanded the marine artillery, and Lord Exmouth wrote to request that he would aid him to the best of his abilities, by selecting officers and men from his corps. Sir Richard displayed on this occasion all the activity and judgment to be expected from his character, and Lord Exmouth acknowledged his services after the glorious result of the expedition,

in the following words: — "I should be very ungrateful, my dear friend, if I neglected to thank you for the care and pains you took in selecting, for the service I was ordered upon, the best officers and men I ever saw during my service. I assure you that all the officers did you full justice: they not only knew their duty well, but they performed it well."

In addition to the five line-of-battle ships, two of which were three-deckers, the force included three heavy frigates, and two smaller ones; four bomb-vessels, and five gun-brigs. Four of the line-of-battle ships were to destroy the fortifications on the Mole, while the fifth covered them from the batteries south of the town, and the heavy frigates, from those on the town wall. The bomb-vessels were to fire on the arsenal and town, assisted by a flotilla of the ship's launches, &c. fitted as gun, rocket, and mortar-boats; and the smaller frigates, and the brigs, to assist as circumstances might require.

The fleet left Portsmouth on the 25th of July. On the 28th it sailed from Plymouth Sound, and the same afternoon was off Falmouth. Twenty-three years before, Lord Exmouth had gone from the house of his brother, who now took leave of him, and sailed to fight the first battle of the war,

from the port whence he was proceeding on the service which was to close and crown it. From this place, the Minden, 74, was sent on to Gibraltar, that the necessary supplies might be ready when the fleet arrived. Through all the passage, the utmost care was taken to train the crews. Every day, Sunday excepted, they were exercised at the guns; and on Tuesdays and Fridays the fleet cleared for action, when each ship fired six broadsides. On board the Queen Charlotte, a twelve-pounder was secured at the after part of the quarter-deck, with which the first and second captains of the guns practised daily at a small target, hung at the fore-topmast studding-sail boom. The target was a frame of laths, three feet square, crossed with rope-yarns so close that a twelve-pound shot could not go through without cutting one, and with a piece of wood, the size and shape of a bottle, for a bull's eye. After a few days' practice, the target was never missed, and on an average, ten or twelve bottles were hit every day. Thus kept in constant preparation for the battle, and daily gaining new confidence in themselves, the crews were in the highest degree elated. Officers and men felt that they were going to an assured victory, and that to obtain complete success, the plans of their chief required only the

exertions which every one resolved to make. As a consequence of this enthusiasm, which never had a check, for the excitement of preparation was followed by the flush of victory, their health and vigour were beyond all parallel. Scarcely a man came on the sick list; * and when the Queen Charlotte was paid off on her return, only one had died, except from the casualties of battle, out of nearly a thousand who had joined her more than three months before.

On the 9th of August, the fleet reached Gibraltar, where the Minden had arrived only the preceding night. Here they found a Dutch squadron of five frigates and a corvette, commanded by Vice-Admiral the Baron Von de Capellan, who, on learning the object of the expedition, solicited and obtained leave to co-operate. The ships, having completed their ordnance stores and provisions, were ready to sail on the 12th; but a strong easterly wind prevented them from moving for two days. On the 13th, every ship received a plan of the fortifications, with full instructions respecting the position she was to occupy. A general order to this effect had been issued on the 6th, † but the co-operation of the Dutch squadron had made a

* Appendix I. † Appendix K.

change necessary. To this squadron was assigned the duty of attacking the fort and batteries south of the town, a service previously intended for the Minden and Hebrus, which were now to take a position among their consorts in front of the Mole.

The fleet sailed next day,* and on the 16th was within two hundred miles of its destination, when the wind again shifted to the eastward. That evening, the ship-sloop Prometheus, Captain Dashwood, joined direct from Algiers, with information that the Algerines were making every preparation to meet the attack. All the former defences had been made completely effective, and new works had been added; forty thousand troops had been assembled; all the Janizaries called in from distant garrisons; and the whole naval force of the regency, four frigates, five large corvettes, and thirty-seven gun-boats, were collected in the harbour. The Prometheus brought the wife, daughter, and infant child of Mr. M'Donell, the British consul. The two former had succeeded in getting off, disguised as midshipmen; but the infant, which had been carefully concealed in a basket, after a composing medicine had been

* Appendix L.

given to it by the surgeon of the Prometheus, awoke, and cried as it was passing the gateway, and thus led to the arrest of all the party then on shore. The child was sent off next morning by the Dey, and, "as a solitary instance of his humanity," said Lord Exmouth, "it ought to be recorded by me;" but the consul was confined in irons at his house, and the surgeon, three midshipmen, and fourteen seamen of the Prometheus, were detained as prisoners; nor could the most urgent remonstrances of Captain Dashwood induce the Dey to release them.

The fleet continued beating against a head wind until midnight on the 24th, when the wind shifted to south-west. On Monday the 26th, at noon, they made Cape Cazzina, the northern point of the bay of Algiers, and about twenty miles from the town. Next morning at daybreak, Algiers itself was in sight. As the ships lay nearly becalmed, Lord Exmouth sent away Lieutenant Burgess in one of the Queen Charlotte's boats, under a flag of truce, with the terms dictated by the Prince Regent, and a demand for the immediate liberation of the consul, and the people of the Prometheus. The Severn was directed to tow the boat, but as she made very little way, the boat was ordered by signal to cast off, and proceed

alone to the shore. At eleven o'clock, she was met outside the mole by the captain of the port, who received the communication, and promised an answer in two hours. In the meantime, a breeze springing up from the sea, the fleet stood into the bay, and lay to about a mile from the town.

At two o'clock the boat was seen returning, with the signal that no answer had been given. The Queen Charlotte immediately telegraphed to the fleet, "are you ready?" Immediately the affirmative was displayed from every ship, and the whole bore up to their appointed stations.

The Queen Charlotte led to the attack. It was Lord Exmouth's intention not to reply to the enemy's fire in bearing down, unless it should become galling. In that case, the middle and main-deck guns, thirty long 24-pounders, were to have opened; keeping the upper deck for shortening sail, and the lower for working the cables. The guns on these decks were not primed until the ship had anchored. But the Algerines reserved their fire, confident in the strength of their defences, * and expecting to carry the flag-ship by boarding her from the gun-boats, which were all filled with

* Appendix, M.

men. Steered by the master of the fleet, Mr. Gaze, who had sailed with Lord Exmouth in every ship he commanded from the beginning of the war, the Queen Charlotte proceeded silently to her position. At half-past two, she anchored by the stern, just half a cable's length from the Mole-head, and was lashed by a hawser to the mainmast of an Algerine brig, which lay at the entrance of the harbour. Her starboard broadside flanked all the batteries from the Mole-head to the Light-house. The Mole was crowded with troops, many of whom got upon the parapet to look at the ship; and Lord Exmouth, observing them as he stood upon the poop, waved to them to move away. As soon as the ship was fairly placed, and her cables stoppered, the crew gave three hearty cheers, such as Englishmen only can give. Scarcely had the sound of the last died away, when a gun was fired from the upper tier of the eastern battery; and a second, and a third followed in quick succession. One of the shots struck the Superb. At the first flash, Lord Exmouth gave the order, "Stand by!" at the second, "Fire!" The report of the third gun was drowned in the thunder of the Queen Charlotte's broadside.

The enemy now opened from all their batteries.

None of the ships, except the Queen Charlotte and Leander, had yet reached their stations. Preparations had been previously made in all, to avoid the necessity of exposing the men aloft when shortening sail. Following the flag-ship, the Superb anchored about two hundred and fifty yards astern of her, and the Minden at about her own length from the Superb. The Albion came to astern of the Minden, which passed her stream cable out of the larboard gun-room port to the Albion's bow, and brought the two ships together. The Impregnable was anchored astern of the Albion.

The large frigates, and the Dutch squadron, particularly the Melampus, their flag-ship, went into action under a very heavy fire, and with a gallantry that never was surpassed. The Leander had placed herself on the Queen Charlotte's larboard bow, at the entrance of the harbour; her starboard broadside bearing upon the Algerine gun-boats with the after guns, and upon the Fish-market battery with the others. The Severn lay a-head of the Leander, with all her starboard broadside bearing upon the Fishmarket battery. Beyond her, the Glasgow fired upon the town batteries with her larboard guns. The Dutch squadron took the assigned position, before the

works to the southward of the town. It was their Admiral's intention to place the Melampus in the centre; but his second a-head, the Diana, having anchored too far to the southward to allow this, he pushed the Melampus past her, and anchored close astern of the Glasgow.

The two smaller frigates, the Hebrus and Granicus, were left to take part in the battle wherever they might find an opening. Eager to gain a position in the line, the Hebrus pressed forward to place herself next the flag-ship, till, becalmed by the cannonade, she was obliged to anchor on the Queen Charlotte's larboard quarter. Captain Wise, of the Granicus, waited until all the ships had taken their stations. Then, setting topgallant-sails and courses, he steered for where Lord Exmouth's flag was seen towering above the smoke; and with a seamanship equalled only by his intrepidity, anchored in the open space between the Queen Charlotte and Superb; thus, with a small-class frigate, taking a position, of which, said Lord Exmouth, a three-decker might be justly proud.

Eastward of the Light-house, at the distance of two thousand yards, were placed the bomb-vessels; whose shells were thrown with admirable precision by the Marine Artillery. The smaller vessels,

except the Mutine, which anchored, continued under sail, firing occasionally wherever they saw opportunity. The flotilla of gun, rocket, and mortar boats, directed by Captain Michell, were distributed at the openings between the line-of-battle ships, and at the entrance to the Mole.

Thus the ships commanded the strongest of the enemy's defences, while they were exposed to the weakest part of his fire. The officers and men felt new confidence when they saw the power derived from the admirable disposition of their force. All behaved most nobly; and it was not long before the state of the Algerine batteries gave proof that their courage was fully equalled by their skill.

In a few minutes, indeed before the battle had become general, the Queen Charlotte had ruined the fortifications on the Mole-head. She then sprang her broadside towards the northward, to bear upon the batteries over the gate which leads to the Mole, and upon the upper works of the Light-house. Her shot struck with the most fatal accuracy, crumbling the tower of the Light-house to ruins, and bringing down gun after gun from the batteries. The last of these guns was dismounted just as the artillerymen were in the act of discharging it; when an Algerine chief was seen to spring upon the ruins of the parapet, and with

impotent rage, to shake his scimitar against the ship. Her men proved themselves as expert amidst the realities of war, as they had before shown themselves in exercise; and some of them were detected amusing themselves, in the wantonness of their skill, by firing at the Algerine flag-staffs.

Soon after the battle began, the enemy's flotilla of gun-boats advanced, with a daring which deserved a better fate, to board the Queen Charlotte and Leander. The smoke covered them at first, but as soon as they were seen, a few guns, chiefly from the Leander, sent thirty-three out of thirty-seven to the bottom.

At four o'clock, when a general and heavy fire had been maintained for more than an hour without producing any appearance of submission, Lord Exmouth determined to destroy the Algerine ships. Accordingly, the Leander having first been ordered to cease firing, the flag-ship's barge, directed by Lieutenant Peter Richards, with Major Gossett, of the miners, Lieutenant Wolrige, of the marines, and Mr. M'Clintock, a midshipman, boarded the nearest frigate, and fired her so effectually with the laboratory torches, and a carcass-shell placed on the main-deck, that she was completely in flames almost before the barge's crew were over

her side. The crew of a rocket-boat belonging to the Hebrus were prompted by a natural, but unfortunate ardour, to follow the barge, though forbidden; but the boat pulling heavily, she became exposed to a fire of musquetry, which killed an officer and three men, and wounded several others. Lord Exmouth stood watching the barge from the gangway, delighted with the gallantry and promptitude with which his orders were executed. When the frigate burst into a flame, he telegraphed to the fleet the animating signal, "Infallible!" and as the barge was returning, he ordered those around him to welcome her alongside with three cheers.

It was hoped that the flames would communicate from this frigate to the rest of the Algerine shipping; but she burnt from her moorings, and passing clear of her consorts, drifted along the broadsides of the Queen Charlotte and Leander, and grounded a-head of the latter, under the wall of the town. The gun-boats, and the Queen Charlotte's launch, then opened with carcass-shells upon the largest frigate, which was moored in the centre of the other ships, too far within the Mole to be attempted safely by boarding. They soon set her on fire, and notwithstanding the exertions of the Algerines, she was completely in

flames by six o'clock. From her the fire communicated, first to all the other vessels in the port, except a brig, and a schooner, moored in the upper part of it; and afterwards to the store-houses and arsenal. At a little past seven, she came drifting out of the harbour, and passed so close to the flagship, as nearly to involve her in the same destruction.

About sunset, a message was received from Rear-Admiral Milne, requesting that a frigate might be sent to divert from the Impregnable some of the fire under which she was suffering. She had anchored more to the northward than was intended, and consequently became exposed to all the heaviest batteries. The Glasgow weighed immediately, but the wind had been driven away by the cannonade, and she was only able, after three-quarters of an hour's exertion, to reach a new position between the Severn and Leander; a better for annoying the enemy, but where she was herself more exposed, and suffered in proportion. As it was found impossible to assist the Impregnable, Lord Exmouth sent on board Mr. Triscott, one of his aide-de-camps, with permission to haul off. The Impregnable was then dreadfully cut up; 150 men had been already killed and wounded, a full third of them by an

explosion, and the shot were still coming in fast; but her brave crew, guided and encouraged by the Rear-Admiral and Captain Brace, two of the most distinguished and successful officers in the service, would not allow her to go thus out of battle; and she kept her station, maintaining an animated fire to the last. To relieve her in some degree, an ordnance sloop which had been fitted at Gibraltar as an explosion-vessel, with 143 barrels of powder, was placed at the disposal of the Rear-Admiral. She had been intended for the destruction of the Algerine fleet; but this service had already been effected by other means. Conducted by Lieutenant Fleming, who had been commanding a gun-boat near the Queen Charlotte, with Major Reed, of the engineers, and Captain Herbert Powell, a volunteer on board the Impregnable, the explosion-vessel was run on shore under the battery north of the Light-house; where, at nine o'clock, she blew up.

The fleet slackened their fire towards night, as the guns of the enemy became silenced, and also as the ships began to feel the necessity for husbanding their ammunition. Their expenditure had been beyond all parallel. They fired nearly 118 tons of powder, and 50,000 shot, weighing more than 500 tons of iron; besides 960 thirteen and

ten-inch shells thrown by the bomb-vessels, and the shells and rockets from the flotilla. Such a fire, close, concentrated, and well-directed as it was, nothing could resist; and the sea-defences of Algiers, with great part of the town itself, were shattered, and crumbled to ruins.

At a little before ten, the objects of the attack having been effected, the Queen Charlotte's bower cable was cut, and her head hauled round to seaward. She continued however to engage with all the guns abaft the mainmast, sometimes on both sides. Warps were run out to gain an offing, but many of them were cut by shot from the batteries southward of the town, which had been very partially engaged; and also from forts on the hills out of reach of the ships' guns. A very light air was felt about half-past ten, and sail was made; but the ship, after cutting from her remaining warps and anchors, was manageable only by the aid of her boats towing; and then the only point gained was keeping her head from the land. At eleven, she began to draw out from the batteries, and at twenty-five minutes past, she ceased to fire. The breeze freshened; and a tremendous storm of thunder and lightning came on, with torrents of rain; while the flaming ships and storehouses illuminated all the ruins, and increased the

grandeur of the scene. In about three hours, the storm subsided; and as soon as the ship was made snug, Lord Exmouth assembled in his cabin all the wounded who could be moved with safety, that they might unite with him and his officers in offering thanksgiving to God for their victory and preservation.

The two Admirals came on board the Queen Charlotte as soon as they could leave their ships, and spoke their feelings of admiration and gratitude to Lord Exmouth, with all the warmth of language and expression. The Dutch Admiral, who, with his squadron, had most nobly emulated the conduct of his British allies, declared himself in terms of the highest eulogy of the Queen Charlotte, which, he said, by her commanding position and the effect of her fire, had saved five hundred men to the fleet. Perhaps there was no exaggeration in the praise; for the destruction occasioned by her first broadside, as she lay flanking the Mole, must have contributed much to protect the ships which had not yet reached their stations; and the havoc she inflicted by a cannonade of nine hours must have been great indeed, since her fire could destroy the fortifications on the Mole-head in a few minutes.

In no former general action had the casualties

been so great in proportion to the force employed. One hundred and twenty-eight were killed, and six hundred and ninety wounded, in the British ships; and thirteen killed, and fifty-two wounded, in the Dutch squadron. Yet, except the Impregnable, which had fifty men killed, no ship suffered so much as is usual in a severe engagement. Generally in fleet actions, the brunt of the battle, and the chief amount of loss, fall upon a few; but here, every ship had her allotted duty, and was closely engaged throughout. After the Impregnable, the frigates suffered the most, particularly the Granicus, which took a line-of-battle ship's station; and the Leander, which was much cut up by the Fish-market, and other batteries, and as late as seven o'clock, was obliged to carry out a hawser to the Severn, to enable her to bear her broadside upon one which annoyed her. The loss in the other line-of-battle ships was remarkably small. They had together but twenty-six killed, including the casualties in their respective boats.

Lord Exmouth escaped most narrowly. He was struck in three places; and a cannon-shot tore away the skirts of his coat. A button was afterwards found in the signal locker; and the shot broke one of the glasses, and bulged the rim of the spectacles in his pocket. He gave the

spectacles to his valued friend, the late gallant Sir Richard Keats; who caused their history to be engraven on them, and directed, that when he died, they should be restored to Lord Exmouth's family, to be kept as a memorial of his extraordinary preservation.

On the 28th, at daylight, Lieutenant Burgess was sent on shore with a flag of truce, and the demands of the preceding morning; the bomb-vessels at the same time resuming their positions. The captain of one of the destroyed frigates met the boat, and declared that an answer had been sent on the day before, but that no boat was at hand to receive it. Shortly after, the captain of the port came off, accompanied by the Swedish consul, and informed Lord Exmouth that all his demands would be submitted to. On the morning of the 29th, the captain of the port came off again, being now accompanied by the British consul; upon which Captain Brisbane, of the flag-ship, went on shore, and had a conference with the Dey. Sir Charles Penrose, whom the Admiral had expected to the last, arrived this day in the Ister frigate, from Malta, where he had waited for his expected orders, until he heard that Lord Exmouth was in the Mediterranean. Lord Exmouth committed to him the management of the negotiations,

the only compliment he could now offer. Where nothing remained but submission for the vanquished, the arrangements were soon concluded, and next day the final result was officially communicated to the fleet.*

"Queen Charlotte, Algiers Bay, August 30, 1816.

"General Memorandum.

"The Commander-in-chief is happy to inform the fleet of the final termination of their strenuous exertions, by the signature of peace, confirmed under a salute of twenty-one guns, on the following conditions, dictated by his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of England.

"I. The abolition of Christian slavery for ever.

"II. The delivery to my flag of all slaves in the dominions of the Dey, to whatever nation they may belong, at noon to-morrow.

"III. To deliver also to my flag, all money received by him for the redemption of slaves since the commencement of this year—at noon also to-morrow.

"IV. Reparation has been made to the British

* Appendix, N.

consul for all losses he has sustained in consequence of his confinement.

"V. The Dey has made a public apology, in presence of his ministers and officers, and begged pardon of the consul, in terms dictated by the captain of the Queen Charlotte.

"The Commander-in-chief takes this opportunity of again returning his public thanks to the Admirals, Captains, Officers, Seamen, Marines, Royal Sappers and Miners, Royal Marine Artillery, and the Royal Rocket Corps, for the noble support he has received from them throughout the whole of this arduous service; and he is pleased to direct, that on Sunday next a public thanksgiving shall be offered up to Almighty God, for the signal interposition of his Divine Providence during the conflict which took place on the 27th, between his Majesty's fleet, and the ferocious enemies of mankind.

"It is requested that this memorandum may be read to the ship's company.

"To the Admirals, Captains, Officers, Seamen, Marines, Royal Sappers and Miners, Royal Marine Artillery, and the Royal Rocket Corps."

Above twelve hundred slaves were embarked on

the 31st, making, with those liberated a few weeks before, more than three thousand, whom, by address or force, Lord Exmouth had delivered from slavery.* Having sent them to their respective countries, and leaving a ship to receive a few who had yet to come up from the interior, he sailed on the 3d of September for England. On the 8th, when on his way to Gibraltar, he wrote an

* Slaves liberated by Admiral Lord Exmouth :—

At Algiers.		
Neapolitans and Sicilians	1110	
Sardinians and Genoese	62	
Piedmontaise	6	
Romans	174	
Tuscans	6	
Spaniards	226	
Portuguese	1	
Greeks	7	
Dutch	28	
English	18	
French	2	
Austrians	2	1642
At Tunis.		
Neapolitans and Sicilians	524	
Sardinians and Genoese	257	781
At Tripoli.		
Neapolitans and Sicilians	422	
Sardinians and Genoese	144	
Romans	10	
Hamburghers	4	580
		3003

account of the battle to his brother, to whom he had previously sent a very laconic communication, stating merely the result.

"It has pleased God to give me again the opportunity of writing you, and it has also pleased Him to give success to our efforts against these hordes of barbarians. I never, however, saw any set of men more obstinate at their guns, and it was superior fire only that could keep them back. To be sure, nothing could stand before the Queen Charlotte's broadside. Every thing fell before it; and the Swedish consul assures me we killed above five hundred at the very first fire, from the crowded way in which troops were drawn up, four deep above the gun-boats, which were also full of men. I had myself beckoned to many around the guns close to us, to move away, previous to giving the order to fire; and I believe they are within bounds, when they state their loss at seven thousand men. Our old friend John Gaze was as steady as a rock; and it was a glorious sight to see the Charlotte take her anchorage, and to see her flag towering on high, when she appeared to be in the flames of the Mole itself; and never was a ship nearer burnt; it almost scorched me off the poop; we were obliged to

haul in the ensign, or it would have caught fire. Every body behaved uncommonly well. Admiral Milne came on board at two o'clock in the morning, and kissed my hand fifty times before the people, as did the Dutch Admiral, Von Capellan. I was but slightly touched in thigh, face, and fingers—my glass cut in my hand, and the skirts of my coat torn off by a large shot; but as I bled a good deal, it looked as if I was badly hurt, and it was gratifying to see and hear how it was received even in the cockpit, which was then pretty full. My thigh is not quite skinned over, but I am perfectly well, and hope to reach Portsmouth by the 10th of October. Ferdinand has sent me a diamond star. Wise behaved most nobly, and took up a line-of-battle ship's station;—but all behaved nobly. I never saw such enthusiasm in all my service. Not a wretch shrunk any where; and I assure you it was a very arduous task, but I had formed a very correct judgment of all I saw, and was confident, if supported, I should succeed. I could not wait for an off-shore wind to attack; the season was too far advanced, and the land-winds become light and calmy. I was forced to attack at once with a lee-shore, or perhaps wait a week for a precarious wind along shore; and I

was quite sure I should have a breeze off the land about one or two in the morning, and equally sure we could hold out that time. Blessed be God! it came, and a dreadful night with it of thunder, lightning, and rain, as heavy as I ever saw. Several ships had expended all their powder, and been supplied from the brigs. I had latterly husbanded, and only fired when they fired on us; and we expended 350 barrels, and 5,420 shot, weighing above 65 tons of iron. Such a state of ruin of fortifications and houses was never seen, and it is the opinion of all the consuls, that two hours more fire would have levelled the town; the walls are all so cracked. Even the aqueducts were broken up, and the people famishing for water. The sea-defences, to be made effective, must be rebuilt from the foundation. The fire all round the Mole looked like Pandemonium. I never saw anything so grand and so terrific, for I was not on velvet, for fear they would drive on board us. The copper-bottoms floated full of fiery hot charcoal, and were red hot above the surface, so that we could not hook on our fire-grapnels to put the boats on, and could do nothing but push fire-booms, and spring the ship off by our warps, as occasion required."

The battle of Algiers forms a class by itself among naval victories. It was a new thing to place a fleet in a position surrounded by such formidable batteries. Bold, beautiful, and original in the conception, it was most brilliant and complete in execution. Nor was it more splendid for the honour, than happy in the fruits. It broke the chains of thousands;—it gave security to millions;—it delivered Christendom from a scourge and a disgrace. To complete the happiness of the achievement, a nation co-operated, the natural ally of England, and the truest of her friends; bound to her by the proudest recollections of patriotism, and the dearest ties of religion; and which, if it should be required once more to strike down the power of whatever evil principle may desolate Europe, will again be found at her side, strong in virtue as in courage, to emulate her prowess, and to share the triumph.

CHAPTER XII.

Lord Exmouth's services were acknowledged as became such a victory. He was advanced to the dignity of a Viscount, and received an honourable augmentation of his arms. In the centre of the shield a triumphal crown was placed by the civic wreath; below was a lion rampant, and above them a ship, lying at the Mole-head of Algiers, and surmounted with the star of victory. The former supporters were exchanged for a lion on the one side, and a Christian slave, holding aloft the cross, and dropping his broken fetters, on the other. The name "Algiers" was given for an additional motto. The kings of Holland, Spain, and Sardinia, conferred upon him orders of knighthood. The Pope sent him a valuable cameo. The city of London voted him its freedom, and a sword, ornamented with diamonds, which was presented by the Lord Mayor at a banquet, appropriately given by the Ironmonger's

Company, as trustees of a considerable estate, left for ransoming Christian slaves in Barbary by Mr. Betton, a member of the company, who had himself endured the miseries of slavery. He received the freedom of the city of Oxford, and the honorary degree of D.C.L. from the University. A society lately formed at Paris, chiefly by the exertions of Sir Sidney Smith, for promoting the liberation of Christian slaves, caused a medal to be struck to commemorate the victory. It presents a well-executed profile of the Admiral, with a suitable inscription on the reverse.

In general, every disposition was shown in France to do justice to Lord Exmouth's merit on this occasion. Yet it was to be expected that the feelings so natural under the circumstances of their recent defeat, and the present occupation of their territory, would lead many to detract from the honours of the nation which had so severely humbled them. Some illiberal reflections which appeared at this time in the French journals, prompted the following lines, by the late Lord Grenville:—

"These hands toil-worn, these limbs by fetters galled,
These bodies, scarred by many a servile blow,
These spirits, wasted by disease and woe,
These Christian souls, by miscreant rage enthralled,
What band of heroes now recalls to life?—
Gives us again to hail our native shores,

And to each fond, despairing heart, restores
The long-lost parent, the long-widowed wife?
O Britain! still to lawless power a foe,
'Gainst faithless pirate armed, or blood-stained Gaul!
Vain is the taunt which mocks thy lavish cost,
Thy thankless toil, thy blood poured out for all,
Thy laurels, gained in fight, in treaty lost —
HEAVEN STILL SHALL BLESS THE HAND WHICH LAYS TH' OPPRESSOR LOW!"

The officers of the squadron presented to their commander a magnificent piece of plate, of 1400 guineas value, representing the mole of Algiers, with its fortifications. The subscription exceeded the cost; and the surplus was paid to the Naval Charitable Society, of which Lord Exmouth was a vice-president. * A medal, most appropriate

* The plate bore the following most flattering inscription:—

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
EDWARD, VISCOUNT AND BARON EXMOUTH,
And a Baronet,
Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath,
Of the Royal and distinguished Order of Charles the Third of Spain,
Of the Royal Sicilian Order of St. Ferdinand and of Merit,
Knight of the Royal Sardinian Supreme Order of the Annunciation,
Knight Grand Cross of the Royal Sardinian Order of St. Lazarus and St. Maurice,
and of the Royal Military Order of William of the Netherlands,
This Tribute of Admiration and Esteem
Is most respectfully presented by
THE REAR-ADMIRAL, CAPTAINS, AND COMMANDERS,
Who had the honour to serve under him
At the memorable VICTORY gained at ALGIERS
On the 27th of August, 1816,
Where, by the Judgment, Valour, and Decision of their distinguished Chief,
Aided by his Brilliant Example,
The GREAT CAUSE of CHRISTIAN FREEDOM
Was bravely Fought, and
NOBLY ACCOMPLISHED.

in the devices, and of the most exquisite workmanship, was executed by command of his late Majesty, then Prince Regent. The medals are of gold. Only four were allowed to be struck, one of which was presented to Lord Exmouth, and remains in the possession of his eldest surviving son.

His venerable and excellent friend, Admiral Schank, under whose command he had fought his first action, went to Teignmouth to receive him, when he came home from this, the last of his triumphs. The day of his return was made a general festival, and the inhabitants went out to meet him, with all the arrangement and display which could manifest admiration and attachment.

The promotion which followed the victory was on the usual scale, but Lord Exmouth succeeded in obtaining some extension of it; for he considered it inadequate to the merits of the junior officers, who had enjoyed unusual opportunities for distinguishing themselves. The flotilla of armed boats, which had behaved so gallantly, and afforded such essential service, was commanded chiefly by mates and midshipmen, and he pressed their claims upon the Admiralty with much perseverance. He urged that commissions should be given to all who had passed their examinations; and

submitted a list of the officers whom he thought entitled to promotion, drawn up in such a form as to be easily examined, and referred to; and in which their respective services and claims were enforced in a manner, which marked at once his discrimination of their merits, and the warm interest he took in their welfare.

The victory was prominently noticed in the royal speech, and on the 3d of February received the thanks of parliament. The First Lord of the Admiralty, who introduced the motion to the House of Lords, expatiated at length on the circumstances which enhanced the merit of the commander: — "When the expedition against Algiers was determined on, it became necessary to collect men from different guard-ships, and to call for the services of volunteers for this particular enterprise. He mentioned this circumstance, because those who know the value which naval officers attach to a crew, long accustomed to act together, would be the better enabled to appreciate the skill and exertions of Lord Exmouth, and the difficulties he had to contend with, in rendering crews, collected as he had stated, efficient for his purpose. To that object, Lord Exmouth devoted his daily, his hourly attention, and accomplished it in a manner which reflected

the highest credit on his judgment and ability. He then proceeded with his squadron on the appointed service. He proposed certain terms to the Dey of Algiers, according to his instructions, and no satisfactory reply being given, the ships took their positions. It was due to Lord Exmouth here to state a circumstance not generally known. An opinion had prevailed in many quarters that accident and the elements had been very favourable to Lord Exmouth in the execution of the enterprise; but the fact was, that when Government had determined on the undertaking, many persons, and among them several naval officers, were of opinion that the defences were so strong, that the attack could not succeed. Not so Lord Exmouth, though he was perfectly aware of the difficulties with which he had to contend. He had himself formed the plan of his operations, and gave it as his opinion that the object might be accomplished, not from any idle confidence, but founded on the reasons which he stated, and the plan which he had formed. He had in this plan settled the position which every ship was to take; and when the despatches came, he (Lord Melville) had noticed that the positions actually taken were exactly those which had been before settled. The whole scheme of attack was before prepared by him, and

exactly followed; and the whole transaction reflected the highest credit upon Lord Exmouth as a naval officer, as well as upon his perseverance and gallantry." After describing the battle and its result, and descanting upon the enthusiasm which animated every officer and man, and the gallantry they displayed, Lord Melville alluded to the co-operation, and effectual assistance afforded by the Dutch squadron, to which also he moved the thanks of the house. "The flag of the Netherlands had long been distinguished in Europe, and the officers and seamen had acquired a high renown for skill and valour. In this enterprise, that flag had again appeared, and a noble emulation prevailed between the two squadrons as to which of them should most strenuously exert itself to accomplish the common object."

Similar motions were brought forward in the House of Commons by Lord Castlereagh, who dwelt on the splendid character of the transaction, upon which, he said, there could be but one opinion, either in that House, or throughout Europe. Alluding to the very conflicting opinions which had prevailed on the subject of attacking Algiers, he eulogized the great ability and judgment of Lord Exmouth, whose perfect accuracy had been so fully proved by the result. "He should not

attempt," he said, "to add anything more to an action so glorious both as to the principles upon which it was undertaken, and the mode of carrying it into execution, but only observe that he intended to extend the thanks to the officers and seamen of their brave ally, the King of the Netherlands, whose co-operation had been so beneficial. He was sure the House would feel a peculiar gratification in seeing the navy of Holland united with ours for the general liberties of mankind; and be anxious to mark their sense of the services performed by the Dutch Admiral, his brave officers, and sailors."

"So great were Lord Exmouth's professional abilities," said Mr. Law, who seconded the motion, "that whatever he undertook, he was sure to succeed in. From the commencement of that series of great operations which arose out of the revolutionary war, success had uniformly marked his long career. With respect to the late brilliant enterprise, too much could not be said of it; and it was gratifying to know that the feelings of the House and the Country were the same."

"No one," said Lord Cochrane, "was better acquainted than himself with the power possessed by batteries over a fleet; and he would say that the conduct of Lord Exmouth and the fleet

deserved all the praise which that House could bestow. The attack was nobly achieved, in a way that a British fleet always performed such services; and the vote had his most cordial concurrence, for he never knew, or had heard, of anything more gallant than the manner in which Lord Exmouth had laid his ships alongside the Algerine batteries."

Lord Exmouth had now gained every thing he could hope for. He was still in the full vigour of life, with the prospect of many years of health. His children had all been spared to him. He was accustomed to dwell on their conduct with a father's pride and satisfaction, and with a liberality not often displayed, he gave them their full portions as they successively left him. He had also the gratification of entrusting to each of them some interesting memorial of his services and honours. His eldest son, who had served many years under his orders, was living near Teignmouth, at the family mansion of Canonteign. He represented Launceston in parliament; and when he first entered the House, had exerted himself, though without success, to obtain for seamen serving on foreign stations, the privilege, since granted, of receiving part of their pay abroad. He had been much impressed with the evils of the former

system, which his liberality had obviated for his own crews. Lord Exmouth maintained a most unreserved intercourse with him, and often expressed a confidence in the strongest terms, that he would do honour to the rank he was to inherit: hopes never to be realized; for he survived his father only a few months.

It is a memorable illustration of a truth, which all admit, but none entirely feel, till their own experience has taught them the vanity of worldly success, that when the attainment of every object had left him without a wish ungratified, Lord Exmouth would sometimes confess that he had been happier amidst his early difficulties. Indeed, his natural character, and all his habits, were very unfavourable to repose. The command at Plymouth was given him in 1817, on the death of Sir John Duckworth; but this, though it prevented a too abrupt transition to complete retirement, was a life of inactivity, when contrasted with his general pursuits for almost fifty years.

While he held this command, he was required to attend in his place in the House of Lords on the trial of the Queen, the most lamentable event in modern English history. He had received her then Royal Highness on board his flag-ship in the

Mediterranean, with all the attentions due to her exalted rank, and his principal officers were assembled to pay their respects to her. But when he was desired to furnish a royal standard, which, it was said, the vessel was entitled to carry, though a foreigner, he replied that only a British man-of-war must bear the standard of England. He shared the temporary unpopularity of the noblemen who supported the bill, and the mob at Plymouth and its neighbourhood expressed their feelings towards him with much violence; but this, as far as he was concerned, gave him no disquiet. He had not then to learn how little this kind of hostility is to be regarded, when it is provoked by the faithful discharge of duty. While the storm was at the highest, he wrote the following letter:—

"Admiralty House, Plymouth Dock, Nov. 29, 1820.

"My Dear Brother—I am much obliged by your kind letter, and wish I could give you in return anything good, or worth detailing. The fact is, the people are mad, and the world is mad; and where it will end, the Lord only knows; but as sure as we live, the days of trouble are very fast approaching, when there will be much contention, and much bloodshed, and changes out of all measure

and human calculation. You and I have no choice. Loyalty is all our duty, and we shall, no doubt, stick to it. As for myself, you may well think me D.D.,* for I am burnt, and kicked, and torn in pieces for many nights; but here I am, quite whole, sound, and merry, in spite of them all, poor fools! In a fortnight they will fain know how to make amends. They have a particular dislike to me, and I am glad of it. We shall live to see it changed."

With the command at Plymouth, Lord Exmouth's public life may be considered to have ended; for though his rank and character would have enabled him to assume a prominent position, and he shrunk from no duty which they imposed upon him, he would not submit to become a political partizan. This decision, so happy for his peace, was the result of his habitual judgment and feeling. In a letter before alluded to, which he wrote for his eldest son before he went to Algiers, he observed, that though not rich, he would be independent, and enjoined him never to entangle himself with party politics. While none more firmly supported the great principles upon

* "Discharged, dead." The mark by which a man is reported dead on the ship's books.

which the security and welfare of the Country rest, he chose always to keep the high position of an independent British nobleman. The splendid rewards which his services had obtained for him, he received, not as from any particular Administration, but from his Country; and he felt himself entitled to assert the same independence in the House of Lords, which he had always displayed as a commander. Thus, by a conduct equally prudent and honourable, he secured, through periods of great political excitement, an exemption almost singular, for a man in his position, from the attacks of party.

At the same time, his best services were always at the command of the Government, who frequently availed themselves of his judgment and experience. Few important questions occurred in connexion with his own profession, upon which he was not consulted. Most of these were necessarily confidential; but the following may with propriety be noticed. In 1818, when the extreme difficulties of the Country demanded the utmost possible retrenchment, it was proposed, among other measures of economy, to destroy Pendennis Castle. Two commissioners, sent to survey and report upon this step, were instructed to communicate first with Lord Exmouth. His opinion decided the

preservation of this noble fortress; which is at once so important from its position, and so interesting for its heroic defence, when in the great rebellion it obtained the honourable distinction of being the last hold of loyalty.

On the Catholic question, his opinions and conduct were most decided. His eldest son resigned his seat for a borough under the influence of the Duke of Northumberland, which he held unconditionally, as soon as that nobleman declared his intention to support the claims. The ground of Lord Exmouth's opposition to the measure has been already given in his own words.

That moral elevation, not always associated with powerful talent and splendid success, which forms the most admirable part of Lord Exmouth's character, was derived from religion. Young as he was when he first entered the service, and though such principles and feelings could not be supposed then to be very strongly fixed, yet he was guarded in his conduct, and always prompt to check any irreverent allusion to serious subjects. His youth was passed in camps and ships, at a time when a coarse and profane conduct too much prevailed, now happily almost unknown; but he was never deterred by a false shame from setting a proper example. On board his first

frigate, the Winchelsea, the duties of the Sunday were regularly observed. He always dressed in full uniform on that day, and, having no chaplain, read the morning service to his crew, whenever the weather permitted them to be assembled. Advancing in his brilliant career, the same feelings were more and more strikingly displayed. It was his practice to have a special and general service of thanksgiving after every signal deliverance, or success. Too often is it found, that with the accession of worldly honours the man becomes more forgetful of the good Providence from which he received them. From this evil, Lord Exmouth was most happily kept; and additional distinctions only the more confirmed the unaffected simplicity and benevolence of his character. Finally, after the last and greatest of his services, a battle of almost unexampled severity and duration, and fought less for his Country than for the world, his gratitude to the Giver of victory was expressed in a manner the most edifying and delightful.

With such principles, he might well have hoped for happiness when he retired from public life. Religion alone can fill, and satisfy, the most active and capacious mind: but that its power may be felt to calm, strengthen, and support, under whatever circumstances of endurance, as of action, it

must govern the character always, and at all times, the supreme controlling principle. For this, the position of a naval officer is not favourable. War has much, in addition to the miseries and evils it directly creates, which only necessity can excuse; and there is too little leisure for reflection amidst the anxiety of early struggles, the full career of success, or the pressure of exciting and important duties.

But when external responsibilities had ceased to divert his attention from himself, his religious principles acquired new strength, and exercised a more powerful influence. They guided him to peace: they added dignity to his character: and blessed his declining years with a serenity, at once the best evidence of their truth, and the happiest illustration of their power.

The quiet of domestic life offers little to be recorded; and except when public or private claims might call him for a short time from home, Lord Exmouth passed the remainder of his life at Teignmouth. He had nobly done his duty; and now enjoyed in honourable repose, all that the gratitude of his Country and the affection of his family could bestow. Though he knew himself liable to an attack which might be almost suddenly fatal, he dwelt on the prospect without

alarm, for he rested upon that faith, whose high privilege it is to rise above present suffering, and to regard death itself as the gate of immortal life.

No man was more free from selfish feeling. His honours and success were valued for the sake of his family. His services and life were for his Country. He had a truly English heart, and served her with entire devotedness. Nothing, indeed, could be a finer commentary than his own career, upon her free and equal institutions, which, by the force of those qualities they so powerfully tend to create, had enabled him to rise from the condition of an unfriended orphan, to the dignity of the British peerage. Most painful, therefore, were his feelings, when revolt and anarchy in neighbouring countries were held up to be admired and imitated at home, until a praiseworthy desire of improvement had become a rage for destructive innovation. In a letter written at this time, Nov. 12th, 1831, after alluding to his own declining strength, he thus proceeds :—"I am fast approaching that end which we must all come to. My own term I feel is expiring, and happy is the man who does not live to see the destruction of his Country, which discontent has brought to the verge of ruin. Hitherto thrice happy England,

how art thou torn to pieces by thine own children! Strangers, who a year ago looked up to you as a happy exception in the world, with admiration, at this moment know thee not! Fire, riot, and bloodshed, are roving through the land, and God in his displeasure visits us also with pestilence; and in fact, in one short year, we seem almost to have reached the climax of misery. One cannot sit down to put one's thoughts to paper, without feeling oppressed by public events, and with vain thought of how and when will the evils terminate. *That* must be left to God's mercy, for I believe man is at this moment unequal to the task."

He then passes to another subject. It was a trait in his character, that, through all his success, he never forgot his early friends.

"When I sat down, I intended to commence by letting you know that I have heard from —— of the last week's illness and decease of our early, and I believe almost our oldest friend, ——. He states that he died, by God's mercy, free from pain; that his suffering was not much, and he bore it patiently, with a calm mind, keeping his senses to the last few hours. That you had paid your old friend a last visit, from which, he says, he appeared to be quite revivified; that his eyes

sparkled with inward joy, and that he had asked kindly after me; that he went off at last in a kind of sleep, without struggle, and had felt all the comfort which could be given him by a sincere old friend. I was very glad to hear that you had given him the comfort of taking leave of him, for I readily believe he ever felt for you unabated friendship, and for myself also. I think we must have known him above threescore years. I am sure you will derive pleasure from having shown him that your friendship could only end by his death."

Early in 1832, after an extraordinary exemption from such trials in his own family, he lost one of his grand-children. He communicated the event with the reflection—"We have long been mercifully spared. Death has at length entered our family, and it behoves us all to be watchful."* Very soon the warning was more severely repeated, in the almost sudden removal of his youngest daughter.

In the spring of this year he was made Vice-Admiral of England, and was honoured at the same time with a very flattering letter from his Sovereign. This he immediately enclosed to his

* It is a remarkable fact, that since the death of this child, seven members of the family have died within three years.

elder brother, to whom he knew it would give pleasure. Of the appointment itself, he remarked, "I shall have it only for one year." He held it but for a few months.

In May, Sir Israel Pellew was on his death-bed; and Lord Exmouth, though he now travelled with much difficulty and pain, could not refuse himself the melancholy satisfaction of a parting visit to one, with whom he had been so closely and affectionately united. Their brother came up from Falmouth on the same errand, and on this painful occasion they all met for the last time. He then returned to his home, which he never left again.

He cherished a very strong attachment to the Church; and for more than thirty years had been a member of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which he joined when the claims of the Society were so little appreciated, that only principle could have prompted the step. It might therefore be expected that he would feel deep anxiety, when the safety of that Church was threatened. But upon this subject his mind was firm; and in one of the last letters he ever wrote, dated August 28th, he declares his confidence in the most emphatic language. After some personal observations to the friend he was addressing,

one of his old officers, he alludes to the cholera, then raging in his neighbourhood; "which," he says, "I am much inclined to consider an infliction of Providence, to show his power to the discontented of the world, who have long been striving against the government of man, and are commencing their attacks on our Church. But they will fail! God will never suffer his Church to fall; and the world will see that his mighty arm is not shortened, nor his power diminished. I put my trust in Him, and not in man; and I bless Him, that he has enabled me to see the difference between improvement and destruction."

Not many days after, he suffered a most violent attack of the illness he had long anticipated. The immediate danger was soon averted; but the extent of the disease left not the smallest hope of recovery. He lingered until the 23d of January, calmly waiting the event which his gradually increasing weakness convinced him was inevitable. Sustained by the principles which had guided him so long, his death-bed became the scene of his best and noblest triumph. "Every hour of his life is a sermon," said an officer who was often with him; "I have seen him great in battle, but never so great as on his death-bed." Full of hope and peace, he advanced with the confidence of a

Christian to his last conflict, and when nature was at length exhausted, he closed a life of brilliant and important service, with a death more happy, and not less glorious, than if he had fallen in the hour of victory.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX (A).

MEMOIR

OF

ADMIRAL SIR ISRAEL PELLEW, K.C.B.

ISRAEL, the third son, was born August 25th, 1758, and went to sea at a very early age. He served first in the Falcon sloop of war, Captain Baynes, in the West Indies; and completed his time in the Flora frigate, Captain Brisbane, which was stationed on the coast of America during the war of independence. An officer could not have been trained in a more severe school. The force on this station was often very unequal to the extent of its duties; and while officers and men were employed for weeks together on boat service, amidst the rigour of North American seasons, they frequently had food such as famine only could render endurable. Sir Israel, referring to that period, would speak of hardships and privations scarcely to be credited by those who are accustomed to the present state of the navy.

He was one of the officers under the orders of Captain Brisbane who were entrusted with the defence of posts on shore, in July 1778, when the enemy under the Comte d'Estaign appeared off New York; and he gained much credit on the occasion, for the spirit with which he maintained

his charge, and the judgment with which he drew off his party when it had become untenable.

He became lieutenant of the Danäe frigate, in April 1779; and in July 1781, he joined the Apollo. In one of these, he distinguished himself by cutting out a vessel so well protected by batteries, that his brother officers thought it a service too desperate to be attempted. In the following year, he was placed in command of the armed cutter Resolution, in which he was sent to the North Sea to cruise for a Dutch privateer, the Flushinger, of 14 guns, which had taken several valuable linen-ships from Belfast, and escaped from some of the fastest frigates. He fell in with her off Flamborough Head, during a heavy gale, on the night of the 20th of January 1783, and after a chase of fourteen hours, and a severe action of an hour and a quarter, captured her. For this service, the merchants of Hull memorialized the Admiralty in his favour; and Keppel, the first lord, though he declined to promote him, on the ground that peace was signed on the very day before the action was fought, continued him in command of the cutter for three years longer, expressly to reward his conduct. On the 22nd of November 1790, he was promoted from the Salisbury.

He married early in 1792, and was living a half-pay commander at Larne, where his brother Edward, after he had fitted out the Nymphe in the beginning of the revolutionary war, took an opportunity to call for him. On the return of the Nymphe from this cruise, she met the Cleopatra; and thus Captain Pellew had an opportunity to assist in the first decisive action, as he had fought perhaps the last in the former war.

The enemy's frigate was seen at a very early hour, but his brother would not allow him to be called until the ships were almost on the point of closing. Meeting him as he ran on deck half dressed, he said to him with emotion, "Israel, you have no business here, and I am very sorry I

brought you from your home. We are too many of us." Israel, whose whole attention was occupied with the enemy, exclaimed, "That's the very frigate I have been dreaming of all night! I dreamt we shot away her wheel! We shall have her in a quarter of an hour!" But his brother, who had already inferred her high state of discipline from her manœuvres, replied, "we shall not take her so easily: see how she is handled."

There was nothing extraordinary in a dream so naturally prompted by his waking thoughts; for it was known that some French frigates were cruising in the channel, and the most probable course to intercept them had been discussed by the brothers on the preceding evening. It led to its own accomplishment. He took charge of the after main-deck guns, and made the enemy's wheel the constant object of his fire. His aim was so true, for he was an excellent practical gunner, that after four men had been killed successively at the wheel, he at length disabled it.

For his services in this action he was immediately made a post-captain into the Squirrel of 20 guns, with which he served in the North Sea, and particularly on the coast and rivers of Holland, in a manner which on one occasion obtained for him the marked commendation of the Admiral. In April 1795, he was appointed to the Amphion 32, and after some service on the Newfoundland and North Sea stations, was ordered to join the western squadron of frigates; an employment the most coveted by every officer, and particularly pleasant to himself, as it placed him under the command of his brother. On her passage down Channel, the Amphion received some damage in a gale, and on the 19th of Sept. 1796, put into Plymouth for the necessary repairs. She went up Hamoaze next morning, and was taken alongside the hulk, and close to the jetty, having gone into harbour, as usual, with all her stores and ammunition on board.

On the 22nd, her work was so far advanced that she was to sail next day; and as she had been manned chiefly from Plymouth, nearly a hundred visiters were spending the last afternoon on board with their friends. The Admiral gave a dinner that day to all the captains in the port; but Captain Swaffield, of the Overyssel 64, then preparing to sail to the eastward, and Captain Pellew, excused themselves on account of the personal attention required by their respective ships; and as they had been shipmates and friends, and were likely to be separated for a long time, they agreed to dine together on board the Amphion. They were seated at table with the first lieutenant, and the servant was in the act of bringing a dish into the cabin, when a sudden and violent shock threw them from their seats against the carlings of the upper deck. Captain Pellew exclaimed, "the ship is blown up!" and sprang to the quarter gallery. Looking forward, he saw the fore-mast carried up into the air: next instant a block, or spar, struck him on the forehead, and knocked him senseless into the water. The lieutenant, who had closely followed him, was blown through the window, and taken up comparatively unhurt. The sentry outside the cabin door, at the moment of the explosion, was in the act of winding up his watch, with his bayonet under his arm. He was found on the deck of the hulk alongside, stunned, but not materially injured; the watch gone, but his bayonet in the same situation. The boatswain, and a few others of the ship's company were saved, and about three hundred perished in the explosion, or went down with the wreck.

To the cause and circumstances of this awful catastrophe, where all was over in a few seconds; where the guilty or unfortunate agents all perished; and the few survivors, surprised and stunned, were scarcely conscious of the particulars of their own most providential deliverance, much uncertainty must attach. The fore magazine was very badly

constructed, and Captain Pellew had represented it to be unsafe. It appeared on the official inquiry that the gunner had been selling powder; and it is to be presumed that a sufficient quantity had been dropt along the decks to form a train to the magazine. Whatever might be the cause, the fore magazine was suddenly exploded; and the Amphion, blown to atoms forward, lifted for an instant, and almost immediately went to the bottom.

Early in the following month an unsuccessful attempt was made to raise the wreck with the Castor and Iphigenia frigates. It was at length dragged alongside the dockyard wharf, and broken up. The body of Captain Swaffield was in the cabin; and the servant hung in the cabin door, which had closed upon his coat, the body being within the cabin, and the coat-pocket, with a book in it, outside. Captain Pellew remained for some time in a critical state from the effects of the blow; and his face ever afterwards showed marks of the injury.

His next ship, the Greyhound, was one of those which mutinied at Plymouth in 1797. The crew did not plead the smallest grievance, offering no other reason for their conduct than the example of the ships around them; and his officers bore the highest testimony to his merit in an address which they presented to him on the occasion. Declining to rejoin her, he was appointed to the Cleopatra, in which he sailed with the western squadron until November, 1798; when he took a convoy to Halifax, and remained on the North American, and Jamaica stations.

The cruise of the Cleopatra in the West Indies was unfortunate. On the 22nd of March, 1801, cruising off Cuba, in company with the Andromache, the boats of the two frigates, under the direction of Captain Laurie, attempted to cut out some vessels, which were anchored under the protection of three armed gallies in Levita Bay: but the enemy being prepared, the boats sustained a heavy

loss, and only captured one of the gallies. Shortly after, the Cleopatra grounded on one of the Bahamas, and was got off, after three days, only by throwing overboard her guns, and part of her ballast.

At Halifax, Captain Pellew was enabled to show some attentions to the present king of the French, whom he offered to convey to England, if the Admiral's permission were obtained. A frigate could not be spared from the station; and the prince was obliged to take his passage in a packet, the Grantham, Captain John Bull: but he felt the kindness of the offer, and spoke of it in warm terms to Captain Pellew's brother, to whom, as the inspector of aliens, he had to present himself on his arrival at Falmouth. He expatiated on his apprehensions during the passage; and how anxiously he had watched every strange sail, lest she should prove a French cruiser, feeling assured of the fate which awaited him if carried into France. In answer to the questions officially put to him as an alien, he said that his name was Egalité, and his country, all the world. Little did the proscribed wanderer imagine that the country which then might have dragged him to the scaffold, would afterwards call him to a throne!

While the Cleopatra was lying in Halifax, His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, under the impression that his authority as military commander-in-chief in Nova Scotia extended to the navy, issued a general order, requiring all captains of men of war to communicate with him before they sailed. Captain Pellew felt that the most delicate mode of intimating the irregularity of the order was silently to disregard it, and sailed as usual. When the Cleopatra was going out of Halifax, two guns were fired in succession to bring her to; and as she took no notice of the signal, it was repeated with a shot. She returned the shot, and stood on. His Royal Highness soon discovered the mistake; and took the earliest opportunity to show his

approbation of Captain Pellew's conduct, by inviting him to dine, and treating him with marked attention.

When peace was made, and the Cleopatra was paid off, Captain Pellew met his family for the first time since he joined his brother's ship in 1793. His son, whom he had left a very young infant, was now ten years old; and his friends, curious to observe the effect of parental instinct, presented to him two boys of the same age. But the animated countenance of the one who had been taught to expect his father, contrasted with the indifference of the other, betrayed the secret.

On the 23rd of April 1804, he was appointed to the Conqueror, a large-class 74, and one of the finest, and best manned ships in the navy. Captain Louis, who was on that day promoted to his flag, had commissioned her on the renewal of hostilities in the preceding year. She had then received a hundred seamen, selected by an officer who was to accompany them, out of the whole ship's company of the Trent, a frigate just then paid off by Captain Katon, and which had been very actively employed for some years in the West Indies, and on channel service, under the command successively of Sir Robert Otway, Sir Edward Hamilton, and Sir Charles Brisbane. The crew was completed in the usual manner with pressed men and volunteers, but ample time and opportunity were afforded to make sailors of these. She was constantly employed on channel service until September in this year, when she sailed to join Lord Nelson in the Mediterranean. She formed one of the fleet which was at Sardinia on the 19th of January, when news arrived that Villeneuve had escaped from Toulon; and consequently shared in the animating chase to Egypt and the West Indies.

As the fleet was passing Stromboli in the night of the 28th of January, the mountain suddenly burst into an eruption so unusually violent, as to drive the inhabitants to take refuge in their boats; and flames at the same time issued

from Mount Ætna. Nelson noted in his diary the fact, which superstition would have regarded as an omen. In daily expectation of a battle, nothing which could improve the crews was neglected on board any of the ships; and nothing could be more favourable to discipline than the vigilance and activity of such a chase. Himself a practical gunner, Captain Pellew took every care to make his men proficients; and in addition to the general weekly training, a division of guns was exercised every morning under the direction of the officer of the watch. Great as was the enemy's superiority, there probably was not an officer or a man in the British fleet who did not anxiously desire to overtake them. Nelson one day called his Captains on board the Victory, and after explaining to them his plans, assured them of his unbounded confidence in their exertions. Among the officers he addressed were some of the most distinguished names in the service; and Captain Pellew would long afterwards speak with pride of the spirit in which all responded to the feelings of their chief.

The fleet returned to Gibraltar, on the 19th of July; and Nelson went on to England, only to be hurried back, after a shorter stay than a last farewell might have claimed, to achieve at the cost of his life the greatest of naval victories. He rejoined his fleet on the 22nd of September, and continued to watch Cadiz. The Conqueror was usually one of the inshore squadron.

The official accounts of the battle of Trafalgar are entirely of a general nature. A commendable regard for the feelings of his officers, may have induced Collingwood to act thus, for the battle was decided before the rear ships in the British columns could take part in it. He may have felt that to name the ships to which the chief credit of the victory belonged, would convey an indirect reflection upon others, whose misfortune it was that their position in the rear, and their bad sailing, prevented them, in an almost

perfect calm, from getting early into action. The state of the fleet and prizes after the battle, when forty-four sail of the line, many of them dismasted and shattered, and most of them disabled, were mingled in a confusion which night-fall made irremediable for the time; and the effects of the gale which came on the same night, destroying some, and scattering the rest, made it impossible for him to obtain particular information until some days after. Himself the first in action, he could know little from personal observation, except the proceedings of his own ship; and the greatness of the responsibility so suddenly and painfully thrown upon him, required his whole attention for immediate and pressing duties. The effect has been in some respects unfortunate; for the most inaccurate statements have thus been allowed to obtain currency, without receiving official contradiction; and the credit of the battle, in the public mind, has been almost exclusively awarded to the two admirals; than whom none ever less needed to be exalted at the expense of their officers.

At day-light, on the 21st of October, the enemy were seen to leeward. As the British advanced, they formed in a compact line, whose wings converged so as to form a crescent. The fleet bore up by signal, and made all sail in two columns; the larboard division of twelve ships being led by Nelson, and the starboard, of fifteen, by Collingwood. The Conqueror was the fourth ship in Nelson's division, being preceded by the Victory, Temeraire, and Neptune.

A light air from the westward gave the ships just steerage way. At half-past eleven, signal was made to prepare to anchor at close of day, and shortly after, Nelson's celebrated signal, "England expects that every man will do his duty!" At twenty minutes past twelve, the Royal Sovereign, which was far a-head of her second, the Belleisle, reached the enemy, and commenced action with the Santa Anna.

As soon as the Victory had come within range of the enemy's guns, which they ascertained by firing single shots at her, they opened a tremendous raking and cross-fire upon her, and the leading ships. The masts, rigging, and sails of these ships were consequently much cut; but the enemy, who had elevated their guns for a very distant range, neglected to depress them as the attacking columns advanced. They hoped, probably, to cripple the ships, before they came to close action; and then, their own rigging being uninjured, either to capture some of the disabled ones, or at least to secure an easy retreat to their own port, leaving the British too much injured to keep their station: a result, which, under existing circumstances, would have given them almost the advantage and credit of a victory. From their mode of firing, though the hulls of the British ships were much struck at first, the damage was chiefly confined to the rigging, as they came nearer; and at close quarters, the people on the lower decks enjoyed comparative impunity. In the ships which suffered the most, the chief loss was on the upper-deck and poop; where the men were destroyed, partly by the elevated fire of the enemy, and still more by showers of rifle and musquet-bullets from four thousand troops, who were on board the combined fleet.

At a quarter before one, the Victory passed through the enemy's line, and closed the Redoutable; followed closely by the Temeraire, Neptune, and Conqueror. The Leviathan, fifth in the Victory's column, had attempted to pass a-head; but the ships continued to press forward under every sail they could set, and she was unable to advance farther than just abreast of the Conqueror.

At half-past one, the Conqueror, having cut away the remaining studding-sails which had escaped the enemy's shot, closed the Bucentaure, and poured a most destructive broadside into her starboard-quarter. She had

sustained no loss in bearing down, for all the men had been ordered to lie flat on the deck until required to be ready at the guns. Observing that the enemy's ship was full of troops, who had already begun to shower musquet-bullets upon his deck, Captain Pellew ordered below the marines, and every man who could be spared from above; and directed those who remained to place themselves where they might be best screened from the enemy's marksmen. Lieut. Wearing, of the marines, had been previously sent with a party of his men to the lower-deck. By this removal of her people from where they would have been uselessly exposed, the Conqueror was enabled to man her batteries below on both sides; while the men, who, from constant practice, had gained great quickness in the use of their guns, aimed with deliberate precision, as if they had been only firing at a mark, and tore their opponent to pieces.

All regularity of line was soon lost; and English, French, and Spanish ships were mingled in confusion. The hulls, and not unfrequently the colours, were obscured by the smoke, but the appearance of the masts afforded a ready means of distinguishing an enemy. Nelson had ordered that the masts of all the ships should be painted entirely white, and when some ships joined him before the battle with the hoops black, as usual, he directed that they should be painted like the others. When, therefore, the Conqueror's people saw a "black hoop" through the smoke, though they could not distinguish the enemy's colours, they fired into the ship without hesitation. Nearest her on the starboard side, the Santissima Trinidada, with her four lofty decks, rose like a castle, a conspicuous mark for every British ship near her. The Neptune had selected her for her own opponent; the Victory and Temeraire directed part of their fire upon her; and the Conqueror, while closely engaging the Bucentaure with her larboard broadside, cannonaded the four-decker with some of her starboard guns.

Great as was the enemy's superiority long after the battle commenced, since the rear of the British columns could advance but very slowly, the disorder and obscurity deprived them, in a great measure, of their advantage. The confusion, which calls forth the energies and resources of discipline, bewilders a less experienced crew; and the feelings which the battle inspired, were as animating to the one party, as dispiriting to the other. At length the opportunity was come which the British had sought so anxiously; and the tremendous fire they had sustained without the power to return it, as they bore down upon the enemy, might almost make them feel that they had gained their object when they closed. But the enemy, who had been encouraged by the appearance of their own formidable line, and by the prospect of crippling the British ships before they could reach it, now found themselves, each as it were, alone, in the midst of battle, contending with the ships which had so lately chased or conquered them, and against a leader whose name was their terror.

At two o'clock, the Conqueror shot away the Bucentaure's main and mizen-masts by the board; and though the French ship did not immediately surrender, she was reduced for a time to perfect helplessness, for the masts falling on the side engaged, the main-top-sail covered her guns. Her people attempted to cut away the wreck, but they were swept into the water; and the wreck itself was soon cleared by the Conqueror's shot. In a few minutes her foremast fell, and a white handkerchief was waved from her in token of submission.

If the services of the Conqueror had ended here, it would have been no mean triumph to have taken the enemy's commander-in-chief, in a very superior ship, so early in the battle; but not availing himself of the privilege of inaction, while anything remained to be done, Captain Pellew would not weaken his ship by securing the Bucentaure. He did

not even wait to receive the submission of his distinguished prisoner; but sending Captain Atcherly, of the marines, to bring Admiral Villeneuve on board, for the services of the first lieutenant could not yet be dispensed with, he wore immediately to close the starboard-quarter of the four-decker.

Villeneuve received Captain Atcherly on the quarter-deck, and inquired in English to whom he had surrendered. On being told, " to Captain Pellew," the Admiral, not knowing of a brother, and with the natural feeling of a brave man, who finds consolation in his misfortune from the credit of his successful enemy, exclaimed, that he was very glad he had struck to Sir Edward Pellew.

The state of the Bucentaure was horrible. In addition to the full crew of a flag-ship, she had a great number of troops on board, with the military commander-in-chief, General Contamin. Useless as they were, from the precaution of Captain Pellew in sending his men below, they could only cause confusion by their multitude, and panic by the slaughter among them. The dead, thrown back as they fell, lay along the middle of the decks in heaps; and the shot passing through these, had frightfully mangled the bodies. It was an appalling task to the officers, master's mate, now Lieutenant W. P. Green, and Midshipmen Taylor, and Harding, who were appointed to superintend the counting of them. More than four hundred had been killed and wounded, of whom an extraordinary proportion had lost their heads. A raking shot, which entered on the lower deck, glanced along the beams, and through the thickest of the people; and a French officer declared that this shot alone had killed or disabled nearly forty men.

Before the Bucentaure left Cadiz, her cables were stowed upon the casks, a tier of them having been removed for that purpose. The orlop deck, thus cleared, was spread with mattrasses to receive the wounded; and they covered all the

deck. Most of them perished a few hours after; for when the ship drove on shore, she fell over on her side, and filled almost immediately.

One of the enemy's shot cut away the head of the figure at the ship's bow; and the crew, in alluding to the circumstance afterwards, would speak of the execution they had done on board the Bucentaure as retaliatory. It is honourable to their feelings, that they applied for permission, through the first lieutenant, Mr. Couch, who warmly seconded their request, to have the mutilated figure replaced with one of their lamented Admiral. Accordingly, after their return to England, a figure of Nelson, remarkable for the correct likeness, and superior workmanship, and which the crew ornamented at their own expense, was placed at the bow of the Conqueror.

At half-past two, the four-decker surrendered. The fire had now materially slackened; and the smoke clearing a little, showed the van ships of the enemy under Rear-Admiral Dumanoir, which had tacked at the commencement of the battle, in a situation which enabled them to take an immediate, and decided part in it. At first they showed a disposition to attack the crippled British ships near them, but the approach of others destroyed their resolution, and they made sail; only however to be intercepted and taken a few days after by another British squadron. The Conqueror received a heavy fire from them, and as they were prepared to board, Captain Pellew ordered the boarders to be called. At this moment, the first and sixth lieutenants, who were stationed on the quarter-deck, fell dead at the same instant, both killed apparently by a single rifle-shot. Lieutenant Lloyd was struck in the mouth, the bullet passing through the back of his head; and so little was his countenance changed at the moment, that an officer, who just then reached the quarter-deck with a party of boarders, and ran to assist him, thought he had been only stunned by the wind

of a shot. He was deeply regretted by the ship's company, who, though he had joined but a short time, had already learnt to appreciate his worth. Lieutenant St. George was shot through the neck. He had gone into action with a strong impression that he should fall; and that morning, when his brother officers proposed to him to take some refreshment in the ward-room, with the half serious, half jocular remark, that it might be the last time, he replied that he felt it would indeed be so. Just after the death of these officers, Captain Pellew reeled, and fell, stunned by the wind of a shot. He recovered immediately, but his face and neck were much blackened, and it was found afterwards that he had received a permanent injury.

Not long after the van ships of the enemy had passed, the Leviathan was seen engaged at once with a Spanish and a French ship.* The Conqueror hastened to assist her, and opened a fire on the Frenchman. The two British ships mutually cheered as she came up, for they were well

* The following extracts from the Conqueror's log, at the Navy-office, (kept by the Master, Mr. Saymour,) will sufficiently confirm the preceding narrative of her services at Trafalgar, where it at all conflicts with other published accounts. References to signals, and other points not directly bearing upon the subject, are omitted :—

"Tuesday, October 22.—At 12-20, the action commenced by Royal Sovereign.—At 12-45, Victory commenced action.—At 1, Victory's mizen-top-mast shot away in close action.—At 1-35, Conqueror commenced action with the Bucentaure, of 80 guns.—At 1-45, in close action.—At 1-55, observed the Victory's mizen-mast gone.—At 2, shot away the Bucentaure's main and mizen-masts. A Spanish four-decker in close action with the Neptune and Conqueror. Shot away the Bucentaure's foremast.—At 2-5, the Bucentaure struck. Sent a boat on board to take possession. Conqueror and Neptune still in action with the four-decker, she having a flag in her fore-rigging.—At 2-25, the four-decker's main and mizen-masts went by the board.—At 2-32, shot her fore-mast away.—At 2-35, she struck to the Neptune and Conqueror: left her in charge of the Africa.—Five of the enemy's ships bore down on us, and commenced a heavy fire: three of our ships coming to our assistance, the enemy passed our starboard-quarter. Bore up to assist Leviathan," &c.

acquainted, their regular stations in the sailing order of the fleet being next one another. The Leviathan, left with a single opponent, quickly overpowered, boarded, and carried her; the people cheering from the poop as they tore down her colours. "Huzza, Conqueror, she's ours!" The French ship, l'Intrepide, after she quitted the Leviathan, was closely engaged with the Africa, and afterwards with the Orion, until past five; when her main and mizen-masts fell; and she surrendered.

The remains of the most splendid and powerful fleet ever drawn up in a line of battle, were now making their escape to Cadiz, and the Conqueror hauled across the course of one of them which had only her foresail set. Her captain stood upon the poop, holding the lower corner of a small French jack, while he pinned the upper with his sword to the stump of the mizen-mast. She fired two or three guns, probably to provoke a return, which might spare the discredit of a tame surrender. The Conqueror's broadside was ready; but Captain Pellew exclaimed, "Don't hurt the brave fellow! fire a single shot across his bow." Her captain immediately lowered his sword, thus dropping the colours, and taking off his hat, bowed his surrender.

The sails and rigging of the Conqueror were very much cut; her mizen-top-mast and main-topgallant-mast gone; her lower masts all but shot away; her quarter-deck and poop bulwarks shattered to pieces; and her upper-decks pierced with small shot. But she lost very few men; partly owing to the elevated fire of the enemy; partly, it may be presumed, to the judgment with which she was laid alongside her successive opponents, and to the rapidly destructive effect of her fire, but chiefly to the early removal of her men from the exposed decks. The number of killed could not be ascertained with exactness, from the uncertainty whether some of the missing men fell in the action, or were lost with the Bucentaure. It was, however, very small. About a

dozen were severely wounded. The captain, and others slightly wounded, were not returned.

Captain Pellew had won the proudest trophy of the day in the swords of the naval and military commanders-in-chief; but of these he was deprived. When Captain Atcherly left the Bucentaure with the distinguished prisoners, he could not find the Conqueror, which had changed her position, and therefore took them on board another British ship, the Mars. The first lieutenant of this ship, who succeeded to the command by the fall of his captain, claimed them in consequence as his own prisoners; and Captain Atcherly wrote to Captain Pellew, that he might lose no time in meeting this extraordinary pretension. Next day, the Conqueror was far inshore, and some time elapsed before she communicated with the fleet. In the interval, Admiral Collingwood took the prisoners on board his own ship, the Euryalus; and, certainly without Captain Pellew's permission, retained the swords. Captain Pellew, who was modest and retiring to a fault, would never claim what ought not to have been withheld, and what, indeed, was distinctly admitted by the Admiral to be his right.

The first care of the Conqueror after the battle was to secure the Bucentaure. She sent to her Mr. Spears, the senior surviving lieutenant, with 106 men, and having got the stream cable of the prize on board, took her in tow. No time was now lost in repairing her own damages. Captain Pellew, after complimenting his crew for their noble exertions in the battle, told them that much was still to be done, and all went cheerfully and heartily to work. The lower masts being too badly wounded to be secured by ordinary fishes, he directed, as soon as practicable, that the top-masts should be lowered till they covered the worst injuries, which fortunately were very high up, and thus to throw the principal bearing and support of the top-mast upon the comparatively sound part of the mast. Fishes were then

applied as needful, and the whole was firmly bound together. The top-mast shrouds were reduced by shifting the dead-eyes, and the injured rigging replaced, or secured; and thus the Conqueror was soon able to carry her top-sails, and in a condition to contend with a gale, or fight another battle.

The attention to necessary repairs was much interfered with, and the labours of the crew increased, by the state of the prize. The wind freshened towards midnight, and as the sea rose, the dismasted hull plunged so heavily, as to carry away the cable, and several hawsers. Soon after midnight, the pinnace was swamped alongside the last of three boats, in the attempt to keep her in tow; and the gale increasing, she could not be secured before day-light. Next day, she was necessarily abandoned on the approach of the enemy's ships, and she was afterwards wrecked on the beach, near the light-house.

At noon, on the 22d, it blew a gale. Next morning, the Conqueror was about three leagues south of Cadiz, with the Bucentaure in tow, l'Intrepide to windward, and the Santa Anna about three miles distant; only four of the fleet being in sight; when five line-of-battle ships and five frigates came out of Cadiz. The Conqueror made signals accordingly, cast off the prize, cleared for action, and made sail for the fleet: but the enemy did not molest her; for being on a lee-shore, and very near the land, a crippled ship would be unable to reach the harbour from her then position. The frigates recaptured the Santa Anna and Neptune, and towed them into Cadiz; but only two of the line-of-battle ships could fetch their port. The others were obliged to anchor outside; and next day, the Rayo, three-decker, was taken by the Donegal and Leviathan; and the Indomptable and San Francisco de Asis were driven on shore and wrecked.

On the 25th, the Conqueror and Britannia removed the

prisoners from l'Intrepide, and the Britannia set her on fire. On the 26th, the wind shifted to South by East, still a fresh gale. Next day, Cadiz being about twenty miles distant to the S.S. E., she fell in with the Africa, which had lost all her masts the night after the battle, and was drifting towards the shore. She took her in tow, and brought her safely to Gibraltar, where they arrived November 3d; and the Africa having been fitted with jury-masts, the two ships sailed on the 9th, in company with five others of the fleet; and on the 30th, arrived at Plymouth.

In November, 1807, the Conqueror, still commanded by Captain Pellew, was one of nine sail of the line which were sent to the Tagus, under the orders of Sir Sidney Smith, to protect the British interests at Lisbon, and to save the Royal Family of Portugal from the power of Napoleon. After some hesitation, the Prince Regent was induced to avail himself of the protection of the British; and on the 29th of November, the day before the French entered Lisbon, the Portuguese fleet, eight sail of the line and four frigates, with the court and treasures of Portugal on board, sailed for Brazil. A part of the British squadron attended the Royal emigrants to their destination. The others, including the Conqueror, blockaded a Russian fleet of nine sail of the line in the Tagus, until August, 1808; when, in consequence of the battle of Vimiera, and by a convention with Admiral Sir Charles Cotton, they were placed in the hands of the British.

In May, 1811, Sir Edward Pellew hoisted his flag as commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean; and Israel, who in the preceding July had been made a Rear-Admiral, sailed with him as captain of the fleet. No appointment could have been more gratifying to both. The brothers, animated by the same high principles, were most warmly attached, and only united the more closely by the difference in their characters. The admiration of the Rear-Admiral

for those qualities which so eminently distinguished the Commander-in-chief, were exalted by brotherly pride; while the Commander reposed the strongest confidence in the sound judgment of the Rear-Admiral, whose activity and skill in the performance of every allotted duty, lightened his own arduous charge of half its anxiety.

From this time the public life and services of Rear-Admiral Pellew are merged in those of his brother; with whom he served till the close of the war. When Lord Exmouth resumed his command in 1815, on the return of Napoleon from Elba, Sir Israel, for he was now K.C.B., accompanied him in his former capacity. In the following year, he took a prominent part in the negotiations with the Barbary Powers. On his return to England, he finally quitted the sea.

He was anxious to go with his brother to Algiers, as second in command; but Lord Exmouth would not sanction the application. He knew that the battle would be severe, and that the most complete success would add nothing to his means of public usefulness; for at his age, and with the prospect of a long peace, he was not likely to be actively employed again.

A service afloat of more than forty years, had given him an honourable title to repose; and it had always been his cherished hope, which long separations from a wife to whom he was most fondly attached had only strengthened, that, his duty to his Country done, he might pass the evening of life in her society. Accordingly, his declining years were spent in the quiet of a happy home, enlivened by intercourse with his brother officers; with the retrospect of an honourable career, and with the faith of a Christian for his hope. But for the calamity which deprived him of a son, his only child, his peace would scarcely have known an interruption. At length, he bore a lingering and painful illness with exemplary fortitude. The three brothers met for the last time in

his sick-chamber; and if the spectacle of the youngest survivor of the family dying before them, was a solemn warning to the others, a warning very soon to be realized with one of them, the manner in which they saw him approach his last hour, the confidence he expressed, and the truth he declared as the foundation of his hope, afforded at once the best consolation, and the most instructive lesson. "I know," said the dying Admiral, "in whom I have believed, and that he is able to keep that which I have committed to him!"

Sir Israel Pellew died June 19th, 1832.

APPENDIX (B.)

MEMOIR OF SAMUEL PELLEW, Esq.

Samuel Humphry, the eldest of the brothers, received his education at Canterbury school, then conducted by Drs. Tucker and Beauvoir. He was at first intended for the Navy, and was to have sailed in the Seaford, commanded by Captain Macbride, an intimate friend of his father. But abandoning these views, he devoted himself to medicine; and after an apprenticeship with a surgeon in Cornwall, became one of the earliest pupils of John Hunter, with Home, Pitcairn, and Baillie, for his junior class-fellows. On the completion of his studies, at the recommendation of John Hunter and Dr. Geo. Fordyce, he was named to be surgeon to a battalion of Guards, then under orders for America. Had this appointment taken place, the four brothers would have been serving in America at the same time; but Mr. Birch, of the Coldstream, now offered to go with the regiment, and was permitted to retract a former refusal. Mr. Pellew then served as surgeon of marines, and assistant-surgeon to the dockyard at Plymouth. Eventually, by the advice of his friends in Truro, he quitted a partnership with Dr. Geach of the Royal Hospital, and settled in that town, where he had established himself in an extensive and lucrative practice, when the collection of the Customs at Falmouth became vacant, and he was appointed to it, on the recommendation of the late Lord Falmouth.

At that time, the different departments of Government were in a very unsatisfactory state, the natural effect of the system which had long prevailed. Mr. Pitt, though strong

in the integrity which, even more than his unrivalled talents, had obtained for him the confidence at once of his Sovereign and of the Country, was unable to overturn what so many powerful parties were interested to uphold. All that he could attempt with safety was, to introduce from time to time such regulations into the different offices as were calculated to correct the more evident and flagrant abuses. In the revenue department, the evils were particularly great. A large proportion of the officers maintained an improper understanding with the merchant, and even with the smuggler; and had thus placed themselves so entirely in the power of those whom it was their business to check, that when the Government would enforce a better system, they found it necessary first to relieve them from all fear of their former confederates, by declaring a general amnesty.

As soon as Mr. Pellew had received the appointment, he took the most active measures to give efficiency to his office. He soon had direct proof of the existing system of collusion, by seizing at an adjoining port a vessel loaded with wine, which he found running her cargo at day-break, with some revenue officers assisting. At that time, the revenue cruisers were furnished by the collector of the customs, who received a certain hire, with a proportion of the captures. Mr. Pellew had two of these vessels, the Hawk, of 14 guns, and the Lark, of 12, which he kept so constantly at sea, that one of the commanders made a formal complaint of the excessive duty, and resigned his vessel.

Such strictness could not but create much exasperation, at a period when a great part of the population on the coast was concerned in smuggling. His life was repeatedly threatened, and he was earnestly advised to use every precaution for his personal safety. On one occasion, handbills having been posted, advertising a price for his assassination, the merchants of Falmouth, without waiting for the steps which the Board of Customs might think proper to take, offered a

reward for the discovery of the offenders. The character of the smugglers justified the most serious apprehensions. Running their cargoes in armed vessels, their lives were already forfeited, and they possessed the reckless desperation of pirates.

Some idea of the character and magnitude of the contraband trade at this period, will be obtained from an official statement of the naval force of these brigands on the western coast only, as communicated in a Treasury letter of January 20th, 1785.

"Stag, lugger, 90 tons, 30 men, all provided with small arms;

"Happy-go-Lucky, lugger, 80 tons, 35 men, with small arms;

"Happy-go-Lucky, cutter, 100 tons, 14 guns, 30 men;

"Glory, shallop, 70 tons, 20 men, small arms;

"Cutter, name unknown, 120 tons, 16 guns, 4-pounders, 40 men;

"Sweepstakes, lugger, 250 tons, 26 guns, 12 and 9-pounders, 80 men; with numerous boats, 30 to 40 feet in length, calculated to row from 8 to 12 oars."

Not less audacity was displayed by their confederates on shore. One illustration may be afforded. A man named Carter carried on a wholesale smuggling business at a cove on the eastern side of the Mount's Bay, where he had a range, nominally of fish-cellars, but well known to be wine and spirit stores. As a blind, he kept a public-house, with the head of the King of Prussia for a sign; and from this circumstance, he became known by the name of the King of Prussia. He had nothing to fear from the revenue officers in the neighbourhood, who were either directly in league with him, or deterred from attempting a seizure, by knowing what a force he could assemble to the rescue. To guard the coast, he constructed a battery, which he mounted with long six-pounders. The Fairy sloop of war was fired upon when

she stood in to examine it; and as she could not safely approach near enough to bear her broadside with effect, she was obliged to send her boats on shore to destroy it. The remains of the battery are still visible, and the spot retains the name of King of Prussia's Cove.

Of all the desperadoes infesting the Channel, the most notorious was a Dover man, named Wellard, who commanded an armed lugger of 14 guns from Folkestone, the Happy-go-Lucky, apparently a favourite name with these characters, and who was the terror of all the officers on the coast. He had been outlawed by name, and it was his avowed determination never to be taken alive. Mr. Pellew was particularly anxious to secure him, and directed his cruisers to make him the first and constant object of pursuit. He once sailed with them himself, upon an information which gave reason to hope that they would meet this Wellard. On another cruise, Lord Exmouth, then a post-captain on half-pay, took command of the Hawk, and went in the depth of winter in search of him. At length, on the 4th of April, 1786, the two cruisers surprised the Happy-go-Lucky at anchor near Mullion Island, in the Mount's Bay. On perceiving them, she cut her cable, and made sail to the westward. At thirty minutes past eight the Hawk brought her to action, and engaged her for three-quarters of an hour, when the Lark came up, and crossing her stern so close as to carry away her outrigger, raked her with an 18-pounder, loaded with grape and cannister, which killed Wellard and the chief mate, and wounded twelve of the crew. Then ranging alongside, the Lark fired the rest of her broadside, and the outlaw submitted. *

The prize was carried into Falmouth, where the severely

* The crews of these vessels carried on a traffic in game cocks, which they bought in England. When the Happy-go-Lucky was taken possession of, some of these birds were fighting on the deck, their coops having been destroyed in the action.

wounded were lodged in sick-quarters in the town, and the rest of the prisoners confined in Pendennis Castle. An attempt at rescue being apprehended, and the civil power being deemed unequal to escort them to the county gaol, the Commander-in-chief, by direction of the Treasury, ordered a company of soldiers from Plymouth for that purpose. Before the troops arrived, the prisoners broke out of the castle, and joined a strong body of their friends outside, who carried off all the wounded from the town, except one, who was too ill to be removed. This man was afterwards lodged in the county gaol; but a country prison not being deemed secure in this case, he was removed to Newgate by a writ of habeas corpus, and tried at the Old Bailey. He declared that Wellard had held a pistol to his head, to compel him to fight; "and now," said his counsel, "you would hang the poor fellow for his involuntary compliance." The jury, influenced by the ingenuity of the plea, or more probably by the consideration that the chief criminals had already expiated their offence with their lives, and that the severe wounds of the prisoner were sufficient punishment, acquitted him.

The increased faithfulness and vigilance of the officers every where checked this system; but the port of Falmouth continued to require the utmost attention of the collector. As the principal western port, and the station for all the foreign packets, the duties of a political nature, and especially the superintendence of aliens, were peculiarly responsible through the war; and the packets themselves possessed great facilities for irregular traffic, which nothing but an extraordinary degree of strictness was found equal to control.

For thirteen years, Mr. Pellew was never absent from his port for a single night; nor did he confine himself to his mere official duties. At the period of threatened invasion,

besides serving in person, he offered to the Government to raise a body of men. On this occasion, the Duke of Portland conveyed to him, through the present Lord Lieutenant of the county, by letter, and in terms of more than official compliment, the King's sense of his zeal and loyalty. He was repeatedly employed by the Government of Mr. Pitt on confidential political services; and the practical knowledge of the commercial system and interests of the Country, which he derived from his office, enabled him to offer some important suggestions.

In 1798, he submitted to the Government, through Mr. Rose, a plan for a national marine insurance, which should become an important source of revenue, at the same time that it would be easy and inexpensive in its management; and which, in the event of success, might be extended to insurances of all kinds. With this view, he proposed to make insurance a document of office, the chief officer of the customs receiving quarterly, or otherwise periodically, a schedule from a proper department in London, to regulate the rates according to voyages, seasons, and circumstances. In cases of total loss, the party was to be paid at the London office. In cases of average, a fruitful source of fraud at present,—for the repairs of vessels have sometimes exceeded the value of the ship and cargo; and the original price of damaged goods has been recovered in courts of law; and it was a common practice to ship goods in a damaged state, and claim an average recompense at the end of the voyage;—to prevent such evils, Mr. Pellew suggested that the collector of the customs on the one part, and the mayor of the town on the other, should swear a competent jury to estimate the loss; according to whose verdict the parties should be immediately paid at the custom-house. A responsible officer's certificate, founded upon his examination at the time of shipment, should be produced as evidence of the

merchantable state of the goods insured. He contended that the profits would be certain where every risk could be so easily estimated, and the amount of losses would be materially lessened. Thus the Government would gain a considerable revenue, increased as it would be by insurances for short distances, which are now comparatively infrequent, from the delay and expense of employing agents in London; and would also obtain additional means of estimating the real value of our exports, by data more accurate than can at present be obtained. The merchant would derive important advantages in the absolute security he would enjoy, and the ease and readiness with which he would receive payment of his losses; and the aversion to direct taxation could not exist, where the individual felt himself to be not so much contributing to the revenue, as securing to himself a commercial advantage. All the property saved from a partial wreck is commonly swallowed up in salvage, warehousing, law costs, and other charges, too often incurred, apparently, to swell the commission; and the Crown itself is defrauded by the sale of goods duty-free, to meet expenses improperly created. All this would be prevented, if such property were placed at once in charge of the King's officers, and sold, when necessary, by their authority.

Mr. Rose was struck with the proposal, and enjoined Mr. Pellew to pursue his inquiries; but he doubted if a scheme of such magnitude could be accomplished with ease and safety; and he thought that as the Government already derived a considerable revenue from the stamps on policies, the advantage would be small. To meet this objection, Mr. Pellew engaged with some of his friends in the insurance of shipping, and at the end of the year submitted to Mr. Rose an account of their profits.

Mr. Rose now started an objection generally urged by Mr. Pitt, against interfering with individual industry. To this it was replied, that indeed it is for the most part equally

impolitic and unjust for the Government to compete with private individuals; but that it ought to afford to commerce the best security in its power, and by a system of national insurance, it would give a security which no private individuals can offer. That underwriting is not a trade nor a profession, but rather a species of gambling; and that the few chartered companies might be induced to surrender their privileges for an equivalent compensation, while private adventurers would retain the power to underwrite foreign property.

The proposal was still declined. Mr. Pellew never ceased to regret the rejection of his plan, to which he attached additional importance, as the possible basis of an extended system, which, under Government management, should include all the regulations of quarantine, convoys, harbour-dues, lights, and every thing in which the mercantile and shipping interests of the Country are concerned.

He now proposed to defray the expense of convoys by levying a tonnage duty; observing, that as men-of-war are taken from their stations, and detached to distant parts of the world expressly to guard fleets of merchant vessels, it was just that the trade should pay for the protection it enjoyed. He suggested the means of assessing a proper tax, and of collecting it without expense. This proposal was at once adopted, and the duty thus established was found equally productive and popular.

Some time after, Mr. Pellew happened to be in the gallery of the House of Commons when a financial question was incidentally discussed; and was gratified at hearing Mr. Tierney declare, and Mr. Pitt add his testimony to the fact, that the quarantine and convoy duties were taxes, against the principle of which he had never heard an objection in or out of that House. This flattering testimony was Mr. Pellew's reward; for in all the services which he voluntarily afforded to the Government, and which took him

often to London, nearly three hundred miles from his home, he never claimed, or received, even his travelling expenses.

In 1799, he submitted a plan to improve the system of quarantine, by extending the application of it to all infected places, and regulating it by such provisions as would afford increased security to the Country, and at the same time relieve the merchant from great inconvenience, and the Government from expense. Formerly, precautions had been deemed necessary only against the plague; until Mr. Pellew took upon himself the responsibility of placing in quarantine a packet from the West Indies, where the yellow fever was then raging violently, and which had buried four of her crew on the passage, one of them off the Lizard. The Council approved his conduct on this occasion. This and similar cases, occurring at a port where there were so many fast-sailing packets, called his attention strongly to the great defects of the existing law of quarantine; and combining his early professional education with a long and practical acquaintance with the routine of revenue service, he submitted a mode of total revision to Mr. Pitt, in a letter, to which the particular notice of the minister was called by the Earl of Chatham and Sir William Grant. It engaged the immediate attention of Mr. Pitt, who declared himself quite convinced by it of the evils of the existing system, and of the merit of the plan proposed. He accordingly made it the basis of a new enactment; and a law was passed in the session of 1800, which embodied the principal regulations recommended in this letter.

A short time before, three ships, the Aurora, Mentor, and Lark, had arrived in the river from Mogadore, with cargoes so deeply infected, that Government resolved to purchase and destroy them. Mr. Pellew requested earnestly that he might be allowed to take them to St. Just Pool, a capacious and retired part of Falmouth harbour, where he engaged

to purify the cargoes under his personal superintendence. But the Government declined his proposal, and having paid the appraised value of the ships and cargoes, amounting to 41,000*l.*, sunk them in deep water.

The quarantine act of 1800 was a most important improvement over the former system. By applying to all infectious diseases the sanitary precautions which before had been deemed necessary only against the plague, it was calculated to afford complete security to the Country. By providing for the appointment of a responsible medical officer invested with sufficient discretionary power, at every quarantine port, proper care was secured for the sick, and the unnecessary detention of vessels was avoided; and a tonnage duty, which was never complained of as burdensome to the trade, covered all the expenses of the quarantine establishment, which before was a heavy charge on the Country. But it contained one material deviation from Mr. Pellew's plan. He recommended that a harbour should be fixed on at the entrance of the Channel for an exclusive quarantine port, suggesting Helford, or St. Just Pool, as combining the required conditions in the greatest degree; and he especially objected to the selection of naval ports for such a purpose, not only because in such it is more difficult to prevent the dishonest and idle characters who infested them from communicating with the vessels, but also because it is an object of the utmost importance to prevent the introduction of infectious disease into a dockyard. But the Government constituted most of the principal harbours quarantine ports, and continued Standgate Creek, a spot near the confluence of the Thames and Medway, and surrounded with marshes, for the chief station. Here all vessels with foul bills of health were exclusively to ride quarantine; thus being required to sail the whole length of the Channel, exposing the coasts and shipping to the utmost risk of communication, before they could reach the creek. A lazaret

was built on shore upon Chetney hill, at an enormous expense, before it was discovered that the spot was so badly chosen, as to make it useless for the intended object. It was then proposed to convert it into barracks for troops; but this idea was given up, when a commission of medical men, who were appointed to examine it, agreed unanimously that troops could not live in such an unhealthy situation.

When Mr. Pellew was often visiting London upon subjects connected with the improved regulations of the quarantine, he availed himself of his frequent interviews with Mr. Rose, to urge strongly the propriety of extending the system of warehousing, to include all articles burdened with heavy duties. He contended, that to exact the prompt payment of high duties must soon result in a monopoly; while by a judicious system of bonding, the field for commercial enterprise would be enlarged, by relieving traders with small capital from the necessity of paying the King's duties till the commodity was sold; thus enabling them to engage in concerns which they could not otherwise undertake. The certain effect of this would be a very great reduction in the price of the commodities, and by the consequent increased consumption, a material addition both to the revenue and to the comforts of the people. Above all, the public health would be promoted, by checking the adulteration of wine and spirits, notoriously so common, but which could not be practised if the article were protected by the revenue locks until transferred to the cellar of the consumer. While he was pressing these suggestions upon Mr. Rose, he happened to be in conversation with a gentleman largely engaged in the wine trade, who stated an intention to increase his capital by borrowing 25,000*l.*; observing that the high duties must soon confine the trade to a few great capitalists. Mr. Pellew offered this, among other similar proofs, to show that his own views were borne out by the judgment of the mercantile part of the country. Mr. Rose gave much attention to the ob-

servations of Mr. Pellew, and very shortly after, an act was passed, in the session of 1803, which carried the principle of bonding into full effect. All the advantages which had been hoped for have been obtained from this important measure; and it has given a death-blow to the most pernicious and demoralizing branch of the contraband trade, by enabling the dealer to sell wholesome spirits at a price almost as low as the smuggler could afford his inferior article.

His services were not unnoticed by the Government. Of Mr. Pitt's favourable opinion, he had the evidence of a letter under his own hand, and may claim the living testimony of the Earl of Chatham. He has received the thanks of most of the public Boards for different official services; and the approbation of four successive ministers has been personally expressed to him.

The very distinguished success of his younger brothers might naturally make him wish to rise in his own department. That he was left for almost fifty years in a fourth-class port, is a decisive proof that his brothers were not advanced through any family or political influence.

At length, having reached his 80th year, yet pressed but lightly with the infirmities of age, he retired to private life.*

* The subjects comprehended in this short memoir have been considered to possess sufficient historical importance to justify their introduction here. It is proper to state, that before the work could have been contemplated, the author was so fully acquainted with these and other not less interesting facts, that he was enabled to write the narrative before Mr. Pellew had any knowledge of the intention. When it was afterwards submitted to him, it was not without difficulty, and only in deference to the opinion of his friends, that he would consent to the appearance of any part of it; and he insisted on the exclusion of every thing which was not strictly of a public nature.

APPENDIX (C).

Extract from the Letter to Mr. Pitt, of March 16, 1799, *which led to the revision of the Quarantine Laws.*

" Among the leading evils of the present quarantine laws, *that* seems to be the most prominent, which directs the operation of them only to vessels coming from certain places; as if the possibility of plague were merely local. It would be going out of my way to inquire what constitutes the nature of this awful disorder; and the necessity for inquiry is superseded, when it is considered that any fatal epidemic fever becomes an object of attention. And, when we reflect on the late ravages of the yellow fever in the West Indies, it will appear an object of as much importance to prevent infection from this fever, or any other epidemical disease, as from any plague whatever.

" A circumstance occurred but lately within my own observation, where a packet from the West Indies arrived at Falmouth, after a rapid voyage, with the yellow fever on board, and containing despatches for all the public offices; which despatches would have been as rapidly conveyed, without any precaution, but for an immediate exertion of authority, without waiting the formalities of office, to put the vessel under quarantine, and fumigate the despatches. Very probably, but for this step, the disease might have been introduced into the kingdom, and swept off some of its first characters before the source of infection had been discovered.

" A second defect in the existing laws of quarantine is the want of *medical interference*, which, considering that

there is a Medical Board in this Country, and that the first object of quarantine is the preservation of the public health, is astonishing. For want of this most essential provision, increased evil cannot but be incurred in cases of actual disease; and where the ship only comes from a suspected place, and no disease exists, the merchant and mariner are exposed to unnecessary inconvenience, when medical discernment would do away all apprehension.

" A third defect is found in the manner of airing goods in cases of suspected disease; which, as now enjoined, defeats its very object; for it is confined to certain limited periods, without reference to the real or suspected infection of the articles to be aired. The existence or non-existence of disease would be a much surer criterion, and would subject the trader to less inconvenience where no disease exists, by avoiding unnecessary delays; and the Country to less danger where it does, by causing the goods so aired to be more particularly attended to. For the whole process of airing, according to the present law, consists in opening the suspected article on the ship's deck, and wrapping it up again in the same package, which is immediately after sent to the manufacturer; instead of the thorough purification it might receive if sent to a lazaretto on shore.

" But the last feature, and which marks most decidedly the character of the existing quarantine laws, as unsafe, and ill-calculated to protect the public health, is the want of *one certain spot* for all ships coming from a suspected place. Until very late years, all the ports in the Channel were considered quarantine ports; and, as in most cases, the more the duty was diffuse, the less it was attended to. It is with some degree of horror, from knowing the very careless manner in which, for the most part, it has been conducted, that I reflect on the past; while in the prospect of its continuance, I tremble for the future.

" Some time in the year 1796, being called upon, *ex*

officio, to report on the efficacy of the then existing laws of quarantine, I entered very fully on the subject; and suggested some regulations, which appeared to me improvements. The restriction of quarantine to a certain number of ports was soon followed up; and an accident which took place at Plymouth, in a ship laden with oil, from Gallipoli, taking fire, and which had nearly communicated the flames to his Majesty's ships in Hamoaze, alarming the officers of the yard, at their representation, quarantine was forbidden at that port in future. But formidable as the apprehension for his Majesty's navy might have been, the danger of infection from disease, had it been maturely considered, would have given much more reason for dread, by introducing pestilence among the King's artificers, and formed a much more potent argument for restricting all vessels under quarantine from approaching a King's port. And if this be admitted, the same principle will extend to the removal of the quarantine from the Mother Bank, near Portsmouth, for no places can be more objectionable than both. And if the same arguments do not exactly hold in relation to a dock-yard, yet from similar causes in the danger of infection, Standgate Creek will be found equally improper. It is, indeed, astonishing that such a spot, so near the grand emporium, should ever have been fixed on for a national lazaretto; surrounded as it is by thousands watching every opportunity of plunder; and where the apprehension of disease becomes no check to the smuggler, the illicit trader, and the robber of every description.

"Without enlarging on the defects in the present system of quarantine, I should hope enough has been brought forward to show the propriety of a revisal and reform; connected as the question is with principles so truly interesting to the public welfare, and to the security of every individual.

"If the evils complained of originate in the causes I have

pointed out, they carry with them in their very testimony of deficiency the truest indication of cure. For if danger arise from the situation of the port or ports made choice of for vessels coming from suspected places, it will follow that this danger will be lessened in proportion as the number of ports is lessened where this service is to be performed; and, consequently, if the three ports to which that service is now restricted, were limited to one only, the danger would be proportionably lessened also. And again, if it be found that there are characters so depraved as to run all hazards of infection, for the purpose of plunder or smuggling, it will immediately follow that a remote situation, where there is the least facility of communication with the shore, ought to be chosen above all others, as the spot for performing quarantine. And, in like manner, if the airing of goods, according to the present plan, be totally inadequate to the purposes intended, and this service cannot be well performed on the deck of a vessel, it will follow, that a lazaretto on shore, contiguous to the spot chosen for vessels to perform quarantine, can be the only effectual method for this purpose. And if unnecessary detention to the merchants' trade and mariners' voyages be occasioned by want of medical inspection where there is no disease, and many perish from the same cause where disease exists, it would seem but an act of common humanity to establish a medical department to examine all suspected ships on their arrival. And, lastly, as the leading evil of the present system of quarantine, arises from its application to the Levant only, the extension of it to every suspected place would happily alter this feature, and give energy to the whole system.

APPENDIX (D).

Copy of a Letter from the Widow of Captain Mullon, of the Cleopatra, to Sir Edward Pellew.

TRANSLATION.

Rochefort-sur-Mêr, 31st July, 1793.

SIR—I have received the two letters which you have had the complaisance to write to me. The afflicting news of the death of my dear husband, which they brought me, is to me a thunder-stroke. Nothing can console me for so great a loss, as he was the only resource of myself, and my five children; and with him, our only hope is lost. I always feared, and with reason, that he would find his death in his courage and activity in the service of his Country. It remains, however, for me to thank you for your generosity, which I took care should be publicly known, as I sent a copy of your letter to the Minister. When you do me the favour to send me all the effects belonging to my husband, (and which at present form a great part of my fortune,) I beg that in addition to that generosity, those effects, as well as all the papers relative to his equipment or otherwise, may be forwarded as soon as possible; and to the end that I may get them without risk, that they may be accompanied by a passport, which will doubtless be granted on your application. The part you have already taken in what is so interesting to me, assures me that you will use all possible means farther to oblige me, and for which addition to my obligations, I thank you before-hand. If you have been at any expense on account of my husband, be pleased to keep

as much of his effects in your hands as will repay you: otherwise, if you will let me know the sum, I will be exact in remitting you the amount.

If my husband was not in advance to his ship's company, he must at his decease have been in possession either of money or paper; but of this I am entirely ignorant: which is my reason for requesting such papers as you may be able to find, on which I may found a claim of reimbursement. I depend entirely on your probity.

Pray, sir, do me the further service to apprize me of the time of the departure of my husband's effects, the name of the vessel and commander, and the place of her destination, that I may write to some one to receive them. The safest way, in my apprehension, (if you should not find an opportunity to forward them directly to Rochefort,) would be to direct them to the Commandant of the Marine, at the first port they may arrive at; the passport securing them on their passage to Rochefort, their ultimate destination.

I rely on your goodness,

And am, Sir,

Your affectionate

NANC. MULLON.

APPENDIX (E).

Letter from Sir Edward Pellew to Rear-Admiral Sir Charles Cotton, applying for a Court-Martial on the Mutineers of the Impetueux.

H. M. S. Impetueux at Sea, June 8, 1799.

Sir—It gives me considerable concern to be under the necessity of reporting for your information the extraordinary and unprovoked mutinous conduct of a great part of the ship's company of his Majesty's ship under my command, on Thursday, the 30th of May, when at anchor in Bear-haven, Bantry Bay. And it is equally painful for me to feel myself reduced to the necessity of calling upon you to support me in my authority; but so deep-rooted are the evils which arise from a relaxed discipline, that without examples of the most serious nature, it is to be apprehended the services of this particular ship can no longer be made useful to the Country, or at all depended on by her commander.

It appears by various evidence that a plot has existed in this ship soon after her leaving Cawsand Bay, for turning the captain and such other officers as were obnoxious to the people out of her, under pretence of grievances which are called insupportable; and for the execution of this intention various times have been proposed and rejected. It was at last fixed, and perhaps accelerated, by the signal being made for the fleet to unmoor in Bantry Bay; when the conduct of the ship's company became marked with the most unexpected acts of open and daring mutiny;—the leading features of which I beg to relate, reserving the more minute

points to appear upon evidence, when you shall think proper to direct a trial of the respective persons whom I shall charge as principals therein.

At noon, on Thursday, the 30th of May, I had left orders with the officer of the watch to call all hands at the usual time, and direct one watch to clear the hawse, the other two to wash the decks; and had gone into my cabin to dress. In this unsuspecting situation, the officer of the watch reported the ship's company aft with a complaint. Hearing a great noise, I instantly ran out, and on my appearance the noise was much increased, the people, about two or three hundred, still pressing aft, and crying out, "One and all, one and all; a boat—a boat." I asked what was the matter, and was answered by Samuel Sidney (1st), and Thomas Harrop, and others, who were foremost in complaining of hard usage, flogging, &c., and muttered something about a letter to Lord Bridport, which I repeatedly and vehemently asked for, saying on my honour I would carry it myself, or send an officer with it. To all this there was a constant cry of "No—no—no! a boat of our own—a boat of our own!" and the more I endeavoured to pacify them, and bring them to reason, the louder the noise became; many saying—Sidney, Harrop, and Jones, particularly—"We will have a boat; d——, we'll take one." This convinced me they were determined to go the greatest lengths, and was more than either my patience or my duty permitted me to bear. I only answered, "You will, will you!" and flew into my cabin for my sword, determined to support the King's service and my own authority, and to kill Sidney or Harrop, who were addressing me, and appeared to be the leaders. Happily that measure became unnecessary; the people flew off the quarter-deck, the letter was found and brought to me, the ringleaders were seized, and peace restored to the ship, the regular duty of which began again. It remains for me only to produce my charges and evidence against the

prisoners, and to request you will be pleased to order a court-martial to assemble for the trial of Samuel Sidney (1), Thomas Harrop, William Jones (2), John Smith (5), William M'Adam, Stephen Walford, Lawrence Rhoades, and John Wilson, seamen, for having assembled in a mutinous and riotous manner upon the quarter-deck, and other parts of his Majesty's ship Impetueux, under my command, between the hours of one and two P.M., on Thursday, the 30th of May, when at anchor in Bearhaven, Bantry Bay, and when there, making use of mutinous language and expressions to their captain. And also Michael Pennell, seaman, for exciting William Young, on Wednesday, the 29th of May, to go down into his birth to hear a letter read, which Samuel Sidney (1) was writing; and for knowing of a mutinous design, without revealing the same to his officers; and being present without aiding and assisting to suppress it.*

I cannot, in justice, close my letter without informing you, sir, of the alert and manly conduct of the marines, in support of the King's service on this occasion; at the same time requesting you will be pleased to direct such inquiry to be made into my conduct, as may appear to you suitable to the complaint alleged in the enclosed anonymous letter.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient,
Humble servant,
EDWARD PELLEW.

Rear-Admiral Sir C. Cotton, Bart.,
&c. &c. &c.

* The Members of the Court Martial, held on board H. M. S. Prince, in Port Mahon, June 19 and 20, for the trial of the mutineers, were Rear-Admiral Sir Charles Cotton, President; Rear-Admiral Collingwood; Captains E. Thornborough, G. Campbell, Thos. Wells, John Sutton, Hon. M. de Courcy, George Burlton, Sampson Edwards, J. Vashon, W. Wolsely, Ch. Stirling, and F. Fayerman.

APPENDIX (F).

Notice of the Services of Captain Sir Christopher Cole, K.C.B.

CHRISTOPHER COLE, the youngest of six sons, entered the navy in 1780, before he was quite ten years old, on board the Royal Oak, 74, of which his second brother was chaplain. She sailed for the North America, and West India stations, where he was present in six actions with the enemy's fleet. In Rodney's victory of the 12th of April, he was serving in the flag-ship of Sir Francis Drake, who commanded the van division, and who afforded him his countenance and protection to the day of his death. The victorious fleet proceeded immediately to Jamaica, where four of the brothers met; the eldest being lieutenant and adjutant in the 79th regiment, and the others serving in the fleet.

He was so fortunate as to be employed through all the ensuing peace, and under some of the best officers in the navy. He sailed three years in the Winchelsea, Captain Edward Pellew; and afterwards four years in the flag-ship of Admiral Cornwallis, in the East Indies. But it was not until 1793, after thirteen years' service as mate and midshipman, that he obtained promotion; when he became first-lieutenant of a sloop of war, a younger midshipman being made second lieutenant under him. On his return to England, in 1794, and within a year after he had been confirmed, he was appointed to the Cerberus, Captain John Drew, who received such a favourable report of him from his old commander, Captain Pellew, as to induce him to procure the appointment of two young men just promoted,

that Mr. Cole might become his first lieutenant. In 1795, he joined the Sans Pareil, bearing the flag of his brother's early friend, Lord Hugh Seymour, in which he served till 1799, when he accompanied his Admiral to the West Indies.

He was made Commander at the capture of Surinam into a fine corvette, which was taken there, and named after the colony. He cruised in her nearly two years with much success; and with a crew so remarkably healthy at a period of unusual sickness, that Lord Hugh Seymour officially reported it to the Admiralty. In 1802, he became acting Captain of Sir John Duckworth's flag-ship, the Leviathan, and in the same year received a commission from the Admiralty for the Southampton, which he paid off soon after.

His appointment to be flag-captain under Sir Edward Pellew, opened to him a career in India equally honourable to himself and useful to the Country. He continued in command of the Culloden for nearly three years, and was present at the attack on the shipping in Batavia Road. In his next ship, the Doris, he rendered important service during Sir John Malcolm's mission in the Persian Gulf, and afterwards, under Admiral Drury's command, with the Government of the Philippine Islands. On both occasions he was honoured with the thanks of the Supreme Government of India. In 1810, having been appointed to the Caroline, he was sent, with the Piedmontaise and Baracouta under his orders, and accompanied by the Mandarin transport, to carry supplies to Amboyna. On his passage, on the 9th of August, he attacked Banda Neira, the seat of government of the Banda islands; and with only 180 men, out of 400 selected for the service, he surprised a 10-gun battery, and then carried by escalade the citadel Belgica; a fortress, from the peculiarity of its construction, and its position on a steep hill, generally deemed impregnable against that kind of attack. The brave commander, Colonel During, refused

quarter, and fell, with ten others, covered with wounds. The garrison fled panic-struck, and Captain Cole and his gallant followers effected the conquest of an important colony, securing to the British flag four islands cultivated for spices, and fortified, with six others dependent on them, without having received a hurt which they would call a wound.

The conquest received, as it claimed, the most honourable notice. The Governor-General issued a public order on the occasion at all the Presidencies, which so eloquently and forcibly expresses the peculiar brilliancy of the service, that it may properly be inserted.

"The details of this brilliant achievement having been communicated from Fort St. George, his Lordship in Council observes with just admiration, the judgment, ability, and foresight manifested by you in the plan of attack, and the zeal, intrepidity, and precision with which it was carried into effect under your direction. His Lordship considers the rapid conquest of a place so strongly fortified by nature and by art, in the face of a superior force, without the loss of a man, as a singular event in the annals of British enterprise, reflecting a peculiar degree of credit on your professional skill, and affording an extraordinary instance of discipline, activity, and courage, on the part of the officers and men under your command."

Mr. Percival described it in the House of Commons, as "an exploit to be classed with the boldest darings in the days of chivalry." The Admiralty communicated their approbation to Captain Cole by letter, and to the squadron in public orders, in terms not less flattering; and they awarded to him an appropriate naval medal, with which he was invested on his return to England.

Leaving Captain Foote, of the Piedmontaise, as Lieutenant-Governor, with a force sufficient for the present security of the islands, he sailed on the 30th of August, under

a salute from Belgica, and the cheers of the garrison. Before his departure, the officers of the troops and of the ships presented him with swords, and his brother Captains, Foote and Kenah, with a silver vase. The Commander-in-chief, in conveying his approval of these presents, took occasion to express a handsome compliment to Captain Cole and his followers. "Their heartfelt encomiums on their gallant leader," he said, "have placed on his brow a never-fading laurel."

In 1811, Admiral Drury died, while fitting out the expedition against Java; and Captain Cole, who had for some time superintended this duty by public order, was left in command, with the chance of conducting the naval part of it to its destination. Captain Broughton, a senior officer, however, soon arrived, and hoisted his broad pendant as Commander-in-chief.

The expedition was successful. Captain Cole, who had charge of landing the army, perceiving that two batteries which flanked the beach were unfinished, and no enemy to be seen, determined to push ashore in his own boat, and made the signal to land instantly. The ships anchored, and without waiting to form in the boats, landed 8000 men, with their guns, &c. between three in the afternoon and dark. Before ten o'clock, the right of the British line was disturbed by the enemy, who might have offered a very serious resistance to the landing, but for the promptness with which it was effected.

On the 6th of September, the Caroline sailed for England with despatches, and on the 15th of December arrived at Spithead. Captain Cole was immediately summoned to attend at the Admiralty by a letter from the First Lord, that he might receive personal assurance of the satisfaction felt by the Board at his gallant and successful exertions at Banda Neira and elsewhere. He received from the East India Company a present of plate, with a letter expressing

the high sense the Directors entertained of the services he had rendered when in the Indian seas. In 1812, the honour of knighthood was conferred upon him, with an honourable augmentation of his coat of arms, and the honorary degree of D.C.L. from the University of Oxford. At the extension of the order of the Bath in 1815, he was included among the Knights Commanders. But perhaps the most gratifying tribute of all was from his veteran ship's company of the Caroline, who deputed one of their number, after the ship was paid off, to place in his hands a sword of 100 guineas value, with a letter, whose simple language, as it evidently came from the heart, could leave no doubt of the sincerity of their grateful attachment.

In March 1813, he was appointed to the Rippon, a new 74. He cruised in her successfully till she was paid off at the peace. He had then been actively employed, with two short intervals, for 34 years.

In 1817, he was called to represent the county of Glamorganshire, and in the following year became Provincial Grand Master of Masonry for South Wales. He was again returned for the county, after a severe contest, in 1820, and re-elected without opposition in 1826. Two years after, he was appointed to command the Royal Sovereign yacht, and in 1830, he received the unsolicited appointment of Colonel of Marines, having then been twenty-eight years a post-captain, and fifty years in the service of his Country. He now determined to retire from parliament, and though his return was certain, for no idea of opposition was entertained, he declined again to offer himself for the county.

This short notice of Sir Christopher Cole is introduced, partly for his connexion with Lord Exmouth as a midshipman, and flag-captain; but chiefly on account of the friendship which subsisted between the Pellews and the Coles, and the singular coincidence in their fortunes. Both were Cornish families, and lived at one time in the same

neighbourhood in the west; both were left while very young to the care of widowed mothers; and both raised themselves by the honourable exercise of talents and character alone.

The history of Captain Francis Cole has been already alluded to. Of two brothers, who were chaplains in the Navy, one became Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford: the other is the present chaplain of Greenwich Hospital. But the chief value of the narrative is in the moral of such examples. It may interest the young officer whose promotion has been less rapid than he had expected and deserved, to know that Sir Christopher Cole was in active service for thirteen years as a midshipman and mate, and for seven years in war as a lieutenant: and to all it may be useful, and to orphans most encouraging, to learn from the history of these two families, how brotherly union and brotherly affection may supply the loss even of a father; and how certainly a conduct guided by such principles will advance their success, happiness, and honour.

APPENDIX (G.)

Instructions to Captain Warde, on surveying Algiers.

"Leghorn, 25th January, 1816.

"Mem:—Endeavour to get the brig into the Mole, to do which, you must promise not to protect any slaves who may attempt to get on board.

"The object of your mission is to discover with apparent indifference the state of Algiers, as to its defences both by land and sea, and the number of real troops they can depend on. The sea defences are the first object. If you are allowed to enter, endeavour to pass along the outside of the Mole, and sound the off-side of the brig, and so on until you anchor. Be precise in the distance of the Mole-head from the town, across, to ascertain if Boyne can place herself across the mouth of it.

"Observe if she can be flanked, or raked from the walls, supposing her anchored with her head off sea-ward, and her stern to the city. Observe if any flanking batteries on either side can play upon her; particularly if the Light-house battery can fire in that direction down the Mole. Take notice if from the walls or houses, a ship so placed would be commanded by musketry. I believe the walls are high: take minutes of the number of guns mounted on the sea-face of the Mole and Light-house, and if of heavy calibre. Minute the sea batteries to the north of the city, and if approachable near. Discover if the Dey is popular or not, and the character of his probable successor. Find

out if there is any particular person likely to be bold enough to take a popular lead in the event of any public clamour.

"You may possibly be able, by putting on a jacket, to get a good view from your main-top with a glass, by loosing sails, and hiding yourself from view at a convenient time.

"Get an account of the slaves, and if quiet or disturbed; and how situated.

"As your great object is to conceal all this from the consul, who will take alarm easily for his personal safety, you must be careful to avoid giving any idea of intention in our Government to interfere; merely saying you should think it against our interest, who have very little to complain of; and if the continuance of the squadron is observed upon, you will say it is connected with the arrangement making for the Ionian Islands, and that you believe that Sir Thomas Maitland and Lord Exmouth are to be named in the new commission for arranging a new constitution, and a code of laws for the regulation of the Islands. At all events, you must carefully conceal your visit being induced but by common events, and with this management, and your own natural silence, I think you may escape suspicion of any design. You had better destroy this paper when you have read it; and you must be most scrupulously cautious not to betray by any possible conversation what our intentions are. Your going to Mahon is a mere cloak to avoid giving suspicion to any person about us; and the intention is known only to the secretary and yourself. You are called by every duty of an officer to keep the most inviolable secrecy.

"Discover where the Dey's palace is situated, and take leading marks to direct shells to it; or any magazines of powder; or where the market lays.

"Endeavour to discover how much powder and shot they may have; and of course you will minutely discover the

floating force of all sorts, and how they are best got at, and if in any state of preparation.

"Observe if the ship laying along the face of the Mole will be high enough to fire over it, if silenced, into the city; or if by placing one at a particular spot, the gate from the Mole into the city may be battered down.

"Observe if a frigate or gun-boats may not be placed to advantage to the north-west of the Light-house, and minute if any batteries could annoy them there, or prevent their firing into the Mole on that side.

"Observe if there is any boom which would prevent fire-boats from attempting the frigates or floating ships.

"Observe the bottom, if good holding; and having satisfied yourself on these points, return and join me.

"Be with the consul as much as you can, and go on board to write your observations, carefully locking them up. Be cautious never to have any sort of paper about your person which may lead to suspicion.

"EXMOUTH."

APPENDIX (H.)

References to Captain Charles Warde's Plan of Algiers.

No.

1. The Emperor's Fort.—A large square fort to the westward of the town, on a hill, having twelve guns on the east side, five on the north, and two in each angle. The south and west sides have also guns. In the middle is a round tower, having ten or twelve guns on it. The walls are high, though not regularly so, as the rock on which it is built is uneven. It is commanded by hills on the west side. The ground is unfavourable for transporting cannon, though it may be approached very near, without being exposed to its fire.
2. A powder magazine.
3. Two aqueducts, which supply the lower part of the town. They have also small cisterns in their houses.
4. A large square fort, with three tiers of embrasures pointing to the eastward; having in the upper tier 15, in the second 18, and in the lower 18; but there were not more than 12 or 14 guns mounted altogether when the plan was taken, and those were in the upper tier, and appeared to be 18-pounders. On the north side there are two tiers, which point towards the Mole; in the lower of which there are three ports, which were stopped up when the plan was taken. In the upper there are seven, with five guns mounted. There is only one tier on the land side, and some guns on the south side,

PLAN OF SEA DEFENCES AT ALGIERS

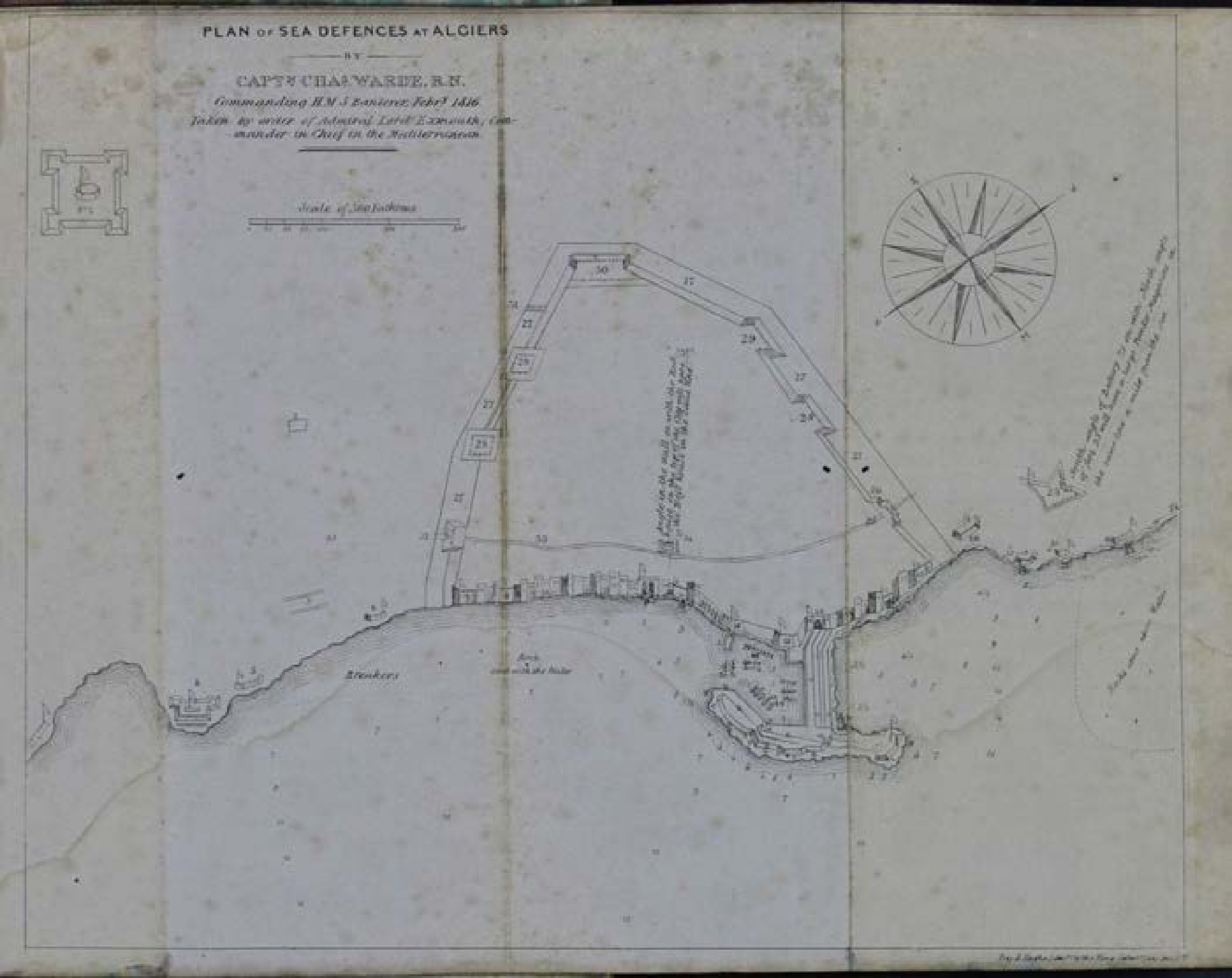
BY

CAPT^N CHA^S WARRE, R.N.

Commanding H.M.S Barrosa: Febr^y 1816

Taken by order of Admiral Lord Exmouth, Commander in Chief in the Mediterranean

Scale of Sea Fathoms



No.

which flank a little sandy bay. This battery will flank the Mole, but much beyond point-blank range.

5. A battery of eight guns, 24-pounders; six pointing to the eastward, one to the north-east, and one to the south-east; there was only one mounted, and nothing on the battery necessary for service when the plan was taken. The gun pointing to the north-east will flank the Mole.

6. A battery of four 24-pounders, fit for service; they point to the sea, and will not flank the Mole.

7. The south angle of the town, where six guns are mounted on three sides, pointing to the south-east, east, and north-east. The latter only will flank the Mole; they are heavy guns; suppose 24-pounders.

8. Battery on the walls of the town with four 24-pounders, apparently ready for service; they will not flank the Mole-head.

9. The Fish-market battery, where 15 guns are mounted in three tiers. These guns would flank the Mole.

10. Battery of three 24-pounders, in a bad state; they will bear on a ship off the Mole, unless very close to the rocks indeed.

11. A battery for three guns, but none mounted.

12. A battery in good condition and well supplied. There are six 24-pounders mounted, and one dismounted, there not being room to work it in the embrasure intended for it. It forms three sides, with two guns in each: on the south side they point on the entrance of the Mole; on the east side they point into the Mole, and would annoy boats or men performing any service there. On the north side they point over the pier which joins the light-house to the main, into the bay in that direction. There is another gun, which points through a hole on the gates of the town, which is a curious piece of ordnance, having seven bores.

No.

13. The gate leading from the Mole to the town, having four short guns pointing down along the pier; there are also two guns, about 18-pounders, pointing into the bay, to the north-west of the light-house.
14. A battery of four 24-pounders, and would bear on a ship coming into the bay, but she might get in so close to the pier between the light-house and the town, as to be out of its fire.
15. A battery having three sides, with two 24-pounders in each, pointing north-east, east, and south-east; the two latter sides would bear on a ship in the bay to the north-west of the light-house.
16. This is a large battery, with two tiers of guns pointing to the north-east; having nine 32-pounders below, and fourteen, either 24 or 18 above, with two guns on each angle. Those on the south-east side will bear on a ship in the bay to the north-west of the light-house. By rounding close to the rocks on the light-house side, a ship going into the bay would soon be out of the fire of the north-east face of this battery, but it is to be observed, that in taking this situation, a ship would receive the fire of between 90 and 100 pieces of cannon from the light-house, and other batteries. Under this battery, which is risen on arches from the ground, are 13 or 14 gun-boats, kept hauled up in the winter. There are also 12 or 14 lions and leopards chained up in this battery.
17. A mortar lying among the stones, without a bed.
18. Two mortars, in the same state as at 17.
19. A battery of nine 24-pounders, one of which would point on a ship to the north-west of the light-house; seven to the north-east, and one to the north. When the plan was taken, two only of these guns were mounted, and they were on defective carriages.

No.

20. Two mortars, without beds or platforms.
21. A battery for seven guns, one of which would point on a ship to the north-west of the light-house. The guns are in the battery without carriages, and are 24-pounders.
22. A battery for ten guns, seven of which would flank the beach to the northward, and three point to the eastward; they are without carriages, and are 24-pounders.
23. A fort with guns all round, having seven pointing to the eastward, five to the southward, one small one to the westward, and ten to the northward. The gate into this fort is near the south-east angle, and is about halfway up the wall, having a road-way risen up to it, with a draw-bridge; the guns are 18 or 24-pounders.
24. A beach, to the northward of which, just out of the plan, is a powder manufactory and the Dey's gardens; beyond this beach are two batteries, the first having eleven dismounted 24-pounders, and the second, which is nearly half a mile further, is a fort, with a ditch on the land side, and a draw-bridge over it, having twelve or fourteen guns in two tiers, pointing to the sea. The coast about this battery is rocky, and bad landing for boats.
25. The north gate into the town. There are two guns immediately over it, and three on the walls, pointing along the road; there is also a gun on the wall flanking the gate.
26. A quantity of shells were lying in the ditch at this place.
27. A dry ditch round the town, having a low wall on the outside; it is about six feet deep, and the banks are supported by walls, the inner of which is six or eight feet from the walls of the town.

No.

28. These are parts of the fortifications which appear stronger than the rest, and have guns round them.
29. A part of the fortification in which the Dey has a palace. It is said to be the strongest part, and has a depot of arms in it. It is said to be calculated for defence in the event of internal commotion.
30. A strong bastion, with guns pointing in-land, and flanking the wall each way.
31. An aqueduct, supplying the upper part of the town.
32. South gates, defended much the same as the north.
33. Near this place, not to be seen from the sea, are the two slave prisons, the largest having 1000, and the smallest 600 or more: there is also a hospital.
34. The Dey's house, (vide marks on the Plan). It is the largest house in the city, and has a green flag-staff a little to the right of it.
35. Place where the market is held, just without the south gates.
36. A large frigate, taken from the Portuguese, with 15 ports on the main deck.
37. A large frigate, 15 ports on the main deck.
38. Ditto.
39. A small old frigate.
40. A large corvette, 11 ports on a side.
41. A small frigate, only 10 ports on the main deck.
42. Two large corvettes, 11 ports on a side.
43. Two large corvettes, 11 ports on a side.
44. A corvette, nine ports on a side.
45. A 16-gun brig.
46. An old galley, apparently unfit for service.
47. A three-masted schooner, new, carrying 12 small guns.

None of these ships were in a state for service. Some were under repair, and none had more than lower masts rigged.

48. Near this place the Minister of Marine and Captain of the port reside.
49. Gun-boats.

REFERENCE TO THE DEFENCES ON THE MOLE.

A. A small pier runs out from the walls of the town, forming one side of the entrance, to which the stern-fasts of four frigates are made fast; there is no way to it but by water.
B. The pier end, on which they have lately added five guns in two tiers, in continuation of the fortification: guns point south.
C. First angle of the fortification, with two tiers of guns pointing south. Upper tier, nine 18-pounders; lower tier, six 32-pounders.
D. Second angle, pointing S. by E. Upper tier, ten 18-pounders; lower tier, seven 32-pounders.
E. Third angle, pointing S.E. by E. Upper tier, four 18-pounders; lower tier, four 32-pounders.
F. Fourth angle, pointing S., or S. by W.; only one tier of three 18-pounders.
G. Fifth angle, pointing S.E.; one tier of five 18-pounders. A large port or gateway, with a very large gun in it, which is fixed on its carriage at an elevation of about ten degrees.
H. Sixth angle, flanking the mole, with three 18-pounders in one tier.
I. Seventh angle, pointing E.S.E., with three tiers of guns. The upper tier has twelve 18-pounders, some of which are mounted on the parapet; second tier, thirteen 24-pounders; and lower tier, thirteen, either 32 or 42-pounders.

K. Eighth angle, pointing E. with three tiers of guns; upper tier, five 12-pounders on parapet; second, ten 24-pounders; lower, nine 32-pounders.

L. Angle pointing to the north, with four 18-pounders. Under this wall, and outside the Mole, are a great many shells, over which the sea often breaks. There is a gateway between the Light-house ditch and the corner of the wall, which leads down to fort N.

M. The Light-house battery, which is the principal battery in the place. It has a ditch, dividing it from the Mole, over which is a small fixed bridge. There are three tiers of guns, in the lower of which are twelve very heavy ones, which point round to sea-ward; the ports are twenty feet above the base. On the second tier there are twenty-five or thirty guns, seven of which will bear on a ship off the Mole-head, and are mounted on parapets; these guns are 24-pounders,, but I think those pointing sea-ward are only 18-pounders. On the top are about fifteen guns, I think 18-pounders, two of which will bear on the Mole-head. There is in this battery a small depot of arms, and abundance of ammunition. There is only one entrance, by the bridge above stated, over the gate. There are ten small guns pointing along the Mole, in rear of the fortifications. From the base to the top of the wall, where the second tier of guns are, it cannot be less than thirty-five feet. Five guns in the upper tier, eight or ten in the second tier, and three in the lower tier, would bear on a ship in the bay to the N.W. of the Light-house. The lower tier has no guns pointing to the Mole-head.

N. This battery has two tiers of ports; there are thirty 18-pounders in the upper, and seven mortars, three only of which have beds. This fort points round from N.W. to E., and no ship can get into the Bay to the N.W.

of the Light-house without passing within a cable's-length, or a little more of it. There is a magazine in it, but in bad weather I have seen the sea break completely over it. I could not see any shot or other stores necessary for its supply, nor had any of the guns beds or quoins.

O. The pier which joins the Light-house with the main. There is a storehouse built all along it, so high, that no ship in the bay to the N.W. of the Light-house could fire into the Mole, except through an arch at the east end, or between its end and the Light-house battery, in which direction some execution might be done at the back of the battery marked K, and the road to the Light-house would be flanked by a ship in that situation. There are no guns on this pier.

P. Gateway which divides the Mole, over which two large guns are placed on the south-west side, pointing into the Mole. They will not flank the wall between it and the Mole-head in their present situation, though one, I think, might be moved to do so. There is a passage round between this gate and the water.

Q. A large gun, pointing across the entrance into the Mole, under which is a gateway into the fortifications.

R. Wall at the back of the fortification all along the Mole, connected with the platform of the upper tier by small arches, leaving a vacancy of two feet or thereabout for the smoke and heat to escape from below.

I could not see any furnaces in any of the batteries for heating shot, but was told by Mr. Shultz, who is their powder manufacturer, that they had them; but as I did not, by my own observation or in conversation with any other per-

son, get this information confirmed, I am inclined to think him mistaken. They load their guns with loose powder, put in with a ladle, which would prevent a hot shot from being put into the gun without great danger of igniting some loose grains of powder, which could hardly fail to remain in the bore.

APPENDIX (I).

HEALTH OF THE FLEET.

Extract from "An Account of the Wounded on board his Majesty's ship Queen Charlotte, in the Battle of Algiers. By Dr. A. Dewar, Physician to the Fleet, Surgeon of the Queen Charlotte." (From the Medico-Chirurgical Journal, April, 1819.)

"The number of wounded on board the flag-ship amounted to 131. Of these, several were of course only slight, but a considerable number of them were severe and important. The success which attended the treatment of these cases was unusually great. All the wounded were kept on board until our arrival in England, about six weeks after the action, and only one died during that time. . . . . The crew of this ship consisted of nearly 1000 men, thrown together hastily for the occasion. Two men were sent to Gibraltar hospital on our way to the scene of action, one with violent inflammatory affection of the thoracic viscera, and who died a few days afterwards, and one with mania. No one died on board from disease, and no serious case existed on our arrival in England. This high state of health, I have no doubt, may in a great degree be attributed to the general state of mental excitement kept up previous to the battle, from the moral certainty of its taking place; the constant preparations for it; and the state of exhilaration resulting from the perfect success of the enterprise. Had the excessive exertions required during this dreadful fight been followed by an unsuccessful issue, I have no doubt the account of health would have been widely different."

APPENDIX (K).

Lord Exmouth's instructions for the disposition of the Fleet, in their attack upon Algiers, dated August 6th, 1816.

FORM OF ATTACK.

The space for the attack on the south-east part of the Mole of Algiers being very limited, it will require the greatest attention to place the ships well in their respective stations, and it is very desirable to avoid opening any fire from them, if it be possible, before they are placed. But as it cannot be presumed that the enemy will remain inactive, it becomes necessary to prepare for that event by endeavouring to divert their fire from the ships of the line, by opening a fire from the frigates, which may under sail pass the batteries in advance, or possibly, in the intervals of the line, as circumstances point out.

The flag-ship will lead, and bring up as near to the Mole-head as practicable. The Superb, Impregnable following, will anchor as close as they can to her, the latter ship placing herself to the southward of the large arch near the centre of the works, and the Superb between us; and when placed, it will be of the greatest advantage if they could be made fast to each other, and hove together to concentrate their fire.

The rear-ship, the Albion, will see if by any failure she can supply the place of either ship thrown out. But if the Impregnable succeeds in getting her place, it appears to me the Albion may be well situated close on her bow, presenting her broadside against the only flanking battery, marked H., of three guns, by which she may cover the Impregnable,

and enfilade the north part of the works, by throwing part of her fire upon the upper tier of the Light-house battery.

The Leander will keep nearly abreast the Superb, and seeing the flag-ship placed, will anchor as near to her as possible, veering towards the town until she opens the Mole, when she will either fire on the round tower, or the gun-boats, and batteries on the town walls. She must run a warp to the flag-ship, and heave as close to her as posssible, to connect the fire of both, and to afford room for the Severn to get within her, or between her and the flag-ship.

The Glasgow will anchor, and present her broadside to the Fishmarket battery, Nos. 9 and 10, and any other she may be able to fire upon.

The Granicus should occupy any space in the line open between the ships at anchor; or if either of the frigates in the mouth of the Mole should meet with accident, she will endeavour to take her place.

Hebrus will attack battery, No. 7 and 8.

Minden will attack the large battery, No. 4, taking care not to pass to the southward of the north-east angle. She will also be able to fire on No. 5 and 6.

This attack need not be closely pressed, being a cover only for the ships attacking the Mole from a flank fire. Captain Patterson will be extremely watchful of our operations, and be ready to slip and join, in the event of any accident to the ships attacking; and he will use the schooner to the best advantage for communication.

Heron, Mutine, Cordelia, and Britomart, will consider it their first duty to attend and aid the ships they are named to assist in every possible way; and they are to remember that even their brigs are to be sacrificed to save the ships they are ordered to attend. Should that service be uncalled for by their being well placed, the captains will take any position where their fire can do good.

Prometheus will tow down the explosion-vessel as instructed, and receive her commander and crew.

The bombs will put themselves under the orders of Captain Kempthorne, and as soon as anchored prepare to open fire. They will be placed by the Master of the Fleet to the northward of the large arch; and they will take care during the attack not to throw their shells over our own ships. The Light-house battery is a great object, and keeping that in a line with the town-gate, will give two objects for throwing the shells at.

EXMOUTH.

N. B. Ships leading into anchorage, are to have the preparative flag flying at the mizen-topgallant-mast-head, which is to be hauled down the instant they let go the anchor.

APPENDIX (L).

Force under the orders of Admiral Lord Exmouth, to attack Algiers.

BRITISH.

Queen Charlotte	108	Ad. Ld. Exmouth,	Capt. J. Brisbane, C.B.
Impregnable	104	Rear-Ad. Milne,	Capt. Edw. Brace, C.B
Superb	74	Captain	Charles Ekins.
Minden	74		William Patterson.
Albion	74		John Coode.
Leander	50		Edward Chetham, C.B.
Severn	40		Hon. Fred. Wm. Aylmer.
Glasgow	40		Hon. Anthony Maitland.
Hebrus	36		Edmund Palmer, C.B.
Granicus	36		Wm. Furlong Wise.
Mutine	16		James Mould.
Prometheus	16		Wm. Bateman Dashwood.
Infernal	bomb		Hon. Geo. James Percival.
Hecla	do.		William Popham.
Fury	do.		Constantine R. Moorsom.
Beelzebub	do.		William Kempthorne.
Cordelia	10		William Sargent.
Britomart	10		Robert Riddle.
Express, schooner.			

DUTCH.

Melampus,	36	Admiral Baron Von Capellan. Captain Anthony-Willem De-Man.	
Frederica,	36	Capt.	Jakob-Adrianus Van-der Straaten
Dageraad,	36		Johannes-Martinus Polders.
Diana,	36		Petrus Zievogel.
Amstel,	36		Willem-Augustus Vanderhart.
Eendragt	24		Johannes-Fred.-Chr. Wardenburg

APPENDIX (M).

On the probable consequences if the Algerines had opened their fire early.

The following observations on this point are communicated by a distinguished Officer, who served in the Queen Charlotte :—

"The effect and probable consequences of firing on the ships as they bore down to the attack, have been much debated among naval men; and not a few have inferred that the victors at Algiers owed their success entirely to the forbearance or stupidity of the enemy. It was much discussed in the cabin on our passage out, and without being able to remember the full extent of the Admiral's expression on the subject, I know it was an event he expected, and for which, by consequence, he was fully prepared.* His determination was, not to have replied to a fire in approaching, unless it became galling: in that case, the middle and main-decks of the Charlotte, thirty long 24-pounders, were to have opened, keeping the upper-deck for shortening sail, and the lower-deck for working the cables. The guns of these last-named decks were not primed till after the ship was anchored. These arrangements, with a free wind, and a steady, though very moderate breeze, must have ensured us against all obstacles, except perhaps that we might have been less near by some fifty yards. But the ships must have arrived in their stations, losing some few more men in killed and wounded; for we cannot suppose that officers and men, who supported with so much steadiness and self-possession the continued fire of such an action, would have quailed under the first fire of the Algerines,

* See Lord Exmouth's instructions, p. 426.

even though it had been necessary to have borne it in silence. But what is the fact?—the Queen Charlotte was the *only ship* secured, the *only ship* anchored, when the action began. The stations taken up under the heaviest of the fire by Leander, Granicus, Glasgow, Severn, and Melampus, frigates, attest the assertion that "the ships *must* have reached their stations;"—for, be it remembered, that these ships are mentioned, not only for the extreme exactitude with which they took their assigned stations, but also because they were the most difficult, having to pass all the batteries, and anchor on a part of the position where not only the smoke of the Admiral's ship, but also that of the enemy was settling. My own idea, and that of dozens of other officers, undoubtedly was, that we were going to an assured victory — that our opponents were out-matched in skill—that our chief's plans were infallible, and only required the exertions of his subordinates to ensure success.

Having said thus much, I will give an anecdote of the Admiral, on my own knowledge, and from that it will be seen that he considered every chance, and did not commit himself and his squadron without calculating, not only getting in, but getting out again. In a conversation after the action, — observed, "it was well for us that the land-wind came off, or we should never have got out, and God knows what would have been our fate had we remained in the whole night." The Admiral instantly replied—"No man is more deeply sensible of the value of the land-wind, which saved us many a gallant fellow; no man is more deeply grateful to Divine Providence for having so favoured us, than myself; but I have not wholly rested on such a contingency. I never dreamed of carrying my squadron where I could not withdraw them. My means were prepared, and I am sure that the exertions of the officers and men would have realized all my expectations; and on no one could I have counted more truly than on yourself, and your people."

APPENDIX (N).

Battle of Algiers—Lord Exmouth's Despatch.

Queen Charlotte, Algiers Bay,
28th August, 1816.

Sir—In all the vicissitudes of a long life of public service, no circumstance has ever produced on my mind, such impressions of gratitude and joy as the event of yesterday. To have been one of the humble instruments in the hands of Divine Providence for bringing to reason a ferocious Government, and destroying for ever the insufferable and horrid system of Christian slavery, can never cease to be a source of delight and heartfelt comfort to every individual happy enough to be employed in it. I may hope to be permitted, under such impressions, to offer my sincere congratulations to their Lordships on the complete success which attended the gallant efforts of his Majesty's fleet in their attack upon Algiers of yesterday, and the happy result produced from it on this day, by the signature of peace.

Thus has a provoked war of two days' existence been attended by a complete victory, and closed by a renewed peace for England, and her ally, the King of the Netherlands, on conditions dictated by the firmness and wisdom of his Majesty's Government, and commanded by the vigour of their measures.

My thanks are justly due for the honour and confidence his Majesty's Ministers have been pleased to repose on my zeal on this highly important occasion. The means were by them made adequate to my own wishes, and the rapidity of

their measures speaks for itself. Not more than a hundred days since, I left Algiers with the British fleet, unsuspicious and ignorant of the atrocities which had been committed at Bona. That fleet, on its arrival in England, was necessarily disbanded, and another, with proportionate resources, created and equipped; and although impeded in its progress by calms and adverse winds, it has poured the vengeance of an insulted nation, in chastising the cruelties of a ferocious Government, with a promptitude beyond example, and highly honourable to the national character, eager to resent oppression or cruelty, wherever practised upon those under its protection.

Would to God that in the attainment of this object I had not deeply to lament the severe loss of so many gallant officers and men. They have profusely bled in a contest which has been peculiarly marked by proofs of such devoted heroism, as would rouse every noble feeling, did I dare to indulge in relating them.

The battle was fairly at issue between a handful of Britons, in the noble cause of Christianity, and a horde of fanatics, assembled round their city, and enclosed within its fortifications, to obey the dictates of their Despot.

The cause of God and humanity prevailed; and so devoted was every creature in the fleet, that even British women served at the same guns with their husbands, and during a contest of many hours, never shrank from danger, but animated all around them.

If ever it can be permitted to an officer to depart from the usual forms of naval correspondence on any occasion, I trust I shall find in the indulgence of my superiors, and of my Country, excuses for having ventured thus to intrude my own sentiments; and I confide myself to their liberality.

Their Lordships will have been already informed by his Majesty's sloop Jasper, of my proceedings up to the 14th

inst., on which day I broke ground from Gibraltar, after a vexatious detention by a foul wind of four days.

The fleet, complete in all its points, with the addition of five gun-boats fitted at Gibraltar, departed in the highest spirits, and with the most favourable prospect of reaching the port of their destination in three days; but an adverse wind destroyed the expectation of an early arrival, which was the more anxiously looked for by myself, in consequence of hearing, the day I sailed from Gibraltar, that a large army had been assembled, and that very considerable additional works were being thrown up, not only on both flanks of the city, but also immediately about the entrance of the Mole. From this, I was apprehensive that my intention of making that point my principal object of attack had been discovered to the Dey, by the same means he had heard of the expedition. This intelligence was on the following night greatly confirmed by the Prometheus, which I had dispatched to Algiers some time before, to endeavour to get away the Consul. Captain Dashwood had with difficulty succeeded in bringing away, disguised in midshipman's uniform, his wife and daughter, leaving a boat to bring off their infant child, coming down in a basket with the surgeon, who thought he had composed it; but it unhappily cried in the gateway, and in consequence, the surgeon, three midshipmen, and in all, eighteen persons, were seized, and confined as slaves in the usual dungeons. The child was sent off next morning by the Dey, and as a solitary instance of his humanity, it ought to be recorded by me.

Captain Dashwood further confirmed that about 40,000 men had been brought down from the interior, and all the Janizaries called in from distant garrisons; and that they were indefatigably employed on the batteries, gun-boats, &c., and everywhere strengthening their defences.

The Dey informed Captain Dashwood he knew perfectly well the armament was destined for Algiers, and asked him

if it was true. He replied, if he had such information, he knew as much as he did, and probably from the same source, the public prints.

The ships were all in port, and between forty and fifty gun and mortar-boats ready, with several more in forward repair. The Dey had closely confined the Consul, and refused either to give him up, or to promise his personal safety; nor would he hear a word respecting the officers and men seized in the boat of the Prometheus.

From the continuance of adverse winds and calms, the land to the westward of Algiers was not made before the 26th, and next morning, at day-break, the fleet was advanced in sight of the city, though not so near as I had intended. As the ships were becalmed, I embraced this opportunity of dispatching a boat, under cover of the Severn, with a flag of truce, and the demands I had to make in the name of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent on the Dey of Algiers, (of which the accompanying are copies), directing the officer to wait two or three hours for the Dey's answer, at which time, if no reply was sent, he was to return to the flag-ship. He was met near the Mole by the captain of the port, who, on being told that the answer was expected in one hour, replied that it was impossible. The officer then said he would wait two or three hours. He then observed two hours was quite sufficient.

The fleet at this time, by the springing up of the sea-breeze, had reached the Bay, and were preparing the boats and flotilla for service, until near two o'clock, when, observing my officer returning with the signal flying that no answer had been received, after a delay of upwards of three hours, I instantly made the signal to know if the ships were all ready; which, being answered in the affirmative, the Queen Charlotte bore up, followed by the fleet, for their appointed stations. The flag leading in the prescribed order, was anchored in the entrance of the Mole, at about fifty yards

distance. At this moment not a gun had been fired, and I began to suspect a full compliance with the terms which had been so many hours in their hands. At this period of profound silence, a shot was fired at us from the Mole, and two at the ships to the northward, then following. This was promptly returned by the Queen Charlotte, which was then lashing to the main-mast of a brig fast to the shore in the mouth of the Mole, and which we had steered for as a guide to our position.

Thus commenced a fire, as animated and well-supported as I believe was ever witnessed, from a quarter before three until nine without intermission, and which did not cease altogether till half-past eleven.

The ships immediately following me were admirably and coolly taking their stations, with a precision even beyond my most sanguine hope; and never did the British flag receive, on any occasion, more zealous and honourable support.

To look farther on the line than immediately around me, was perfectly impossible; but so well-grounded was my confidence in the gallant officers I had the honour to command, that my mind was left perfectly free to attend to other objects; and I knew them in their stations only by the destructive effect of their fire upon the walls and batteries to which they were opposed.

I had about this time the satisfaction of seeing Vice-Admiral Von Capellan's flag in the station I had assigned to him, and soon after, at intervals, the remainder of his frigates, keeping up a well-supported fire on the flanking batteries he had offered to cover us from; as it had not been in my power, for want of room, to bring him in the front of the Mole.

About sun-set I received a message from Rear-Admiral Milne, by Captain Powell, a friend of Captain Brace, conveying to me the severe loss the Impregnable was sustaining,

having then one hundred and fifty killed and wounded, and requesting I would, if possible, send him a frigate to divert some of the fire he was under.

The Glasgow, near me, immediately weighed, but the wind had been driven away by the cannonade, and she was obliged to anchor again, having obtained rather a better position than before.

I had at this time sent orders to the explosion-vessel, (under charge of Lieutenant Fleming, and Mr. Parker), by Captain Reade, of the engineers, to bring her into the Mole, but the Rear-Admiral having thought she might do him essential service if exploded under the battery in his front, I desired Captain Powell to carry my orders to this vessel to that effect, where he staid till it was executed. I desired also the Rear-Admiral might be informed that many of the ships being now in flames, and the destruction of the whole certain, I considered I had executed the most important part of my instructions, and should make every preparation for withdrawing the ships; and desired he would do so as soon as possible with his division.

There were awful moments during this conflict which I cannot attempt to describe, occasioned by firing the ships so near us. I had long resisted the eager entreaties of several around me to make the attempt upon the outer frigate, distant about a hundred yards, which at length I gave in to; and Major Gossett by my side, who had been eager to land his corps of miners, pressed me most anxiously for permission to accompany Lieutenant Richards, in the ship's barge. The frigate was instantly boarded, and in ten minutes was in a perfect blaze. A gallant young midshipman, in rocket-boat, No. 8, although forbidden, was led by his ardent spirit to follow in support of the barge; in which attempt he was desperately wounded, his brother officer killed, and nine of his crew. The barge, by rowing more rapidly, had suffered less, and lost but two.

The enemy's batteries around my division were about ten o'clock silenced, and in a state of perfect ruin and dilapidation; and the fire of this ship was reserved as much as possible, to save powder, and reply to a few guns now and then bearing upon us; although a fort on the upper angle of the city, on which our guns could not be brought to bear, continued to annoy the ships by shot and shells, during the whole time.

Providence at this interval gave to my anxious wishes the usual land-wind common in this bay. We were all hands employed warping and towing off, and by the help of the light air, the whole fleet were under sail, and came to anchor out of reach of shot and shells about two in the morning, after twelve hours incessant labour.

The flotilla of mortar, gun, and rocket-boats, under the direction of their respective artillery officers, shared to the full extent of their power in the honours of this day, and performed good service. It was by their fire that all the ships in the port, with the exception of the outer frigate, were in flames, which extended rapidly over the whole arsenal, storehouses, and gun-boats, exhibiting a spectacle of awful grandeur and interest no pen can describe.

The sloops of war, which had been appropriated to aid and assist the ships of the line, and prepare for their retreat, performed not only this duty well, but embraced every opportunity of firing through the intervals, and were constantly in motion.

The shells from the bombs were admirably well thrown by the Royal Marine Artillery; and although thrown directly across and over us, not an accident that I know of occurred to any ship.

The whole was conducted in perfect silence, and such a thing as a cheer I never heard in any part of the line; and that the guns were well worked and directed, will be seen

for many years to come, and remembered by these barbarians for ever.

The conducting this ship to her station by the masters of the fleet and ship,* excited the praise of all. The former has been my companion in arms for more than twenty years.

Having thus detailed, though but imperfectly, the progress of this short service, I venture to hope that the humble and devoted services of myself, the officers, and men of every description I have the honour to command, will be viewed by His Royal Highness the Prince Regent with his accustomed grace. The approbation of our services by our Sovereign, and the good opinion of our Country, will, I venture to affirm, be received by us all with the highest satisfaction.

If I attempt to name to their Lordships the numerous officers who in such a conflict have at different periods been more conspicuous than their companions, I shall do injustice to many; and I trust there is no officer in the fleet under my command, who will doubt the grateful feelings I shall ever cherish for their unbounded support. Not an officer or man confined his exertions within the precise limits of his own duty; all were eager to attempt services which I found more difficult to restrain than excite, and no where was this feeling more conspicuous than in my own Captain, and those officers immediately about my person.

My gratitude and thanks are due to all, and I trust they will believe that the recollection of their services will never cease but with my life. In no instance have I ever seen more energy and zeal, from the smallest midshipman to the highest rank. All seemed animated with one soul, and

* Mr. Gaze, now master-attendant of Sheerness dockyard, was master of the Fleet; Mr. Lumsdale, now master-attendant at Devonport, was master of the Queen Charlotte.

which I shall with delight bear testimony to their Lordships, whenever that testimony can be useful.

I have confided this despatch to Rear-Admiral Milne, my second in command, from whom I have received, during the whole service entrusted to me, the most cordial and honourable support. He is perfectly informed of every transaction of the fleet from the earliest period of my command, and is fully competent to give their Lordships satisfaction on any points which I may have overlooked, or have not time to state. I trust I have obtained from him his esteem and regard, and I regret I had not sooner been known to him.

The necessary papers, together with the defects of the ships, and the returns of killed and wounded, accompany this despatch, and I am happy to say Captains Ekins and Coode are doing well, and also the whole of the wounded.

By accounts from the shore, I understand the enemy's loss in killed and wounded is between six and seven thousand men.

In recommending my officers and fleet to their Lordships' protection and favour,

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

EXMOUTH.

APPENDIX (O).

Copy of Lord Exmouth's Letter to the Dey of Algiers.

H. B. M. Ship Queen Charlotte, Algiers Bay,
28th August, 1816.

SIR—For your atrocities at Bona on defenceless Christians, and your unbecoming disregard to the demands I made yesterday in the name of the Prince Regent of England, the fleet under my orders has given you a signal chastisement, by the total destruction of your navy, storehouses, and arsenal, with half your batteries.

As England does not war for the destruction of cities, I am unwilling to visit your personal cruelties upon the unoffending inhabitants of the country, and I therefore offer you the same terms of peace which I conveyed to you yesterday in my Sovereign's name. Without the acceptance of these terms, you can have no peace with England.

If you receive this offer as you ought, you will fire three guns; and I shall consider your not making this signal as a refusal, and shall renew my operations at my convenience.

I offer you the above terms, provided neither the British Consul, nor the officers and men so wickedly seized by you from the boats of a British ship of war, have met with any cruel treatment; or any of the Christian slaves in your power; and I repeat my demand that the Consul, the officers, and men, may be sent off to me, conformably to ancient treaties.

I have the honour to be, &c.

EXMOUTH.

His Highness the Dey of Algiers.

APPENDIX (P).

Dutch official Account of the Battle of Algiers.

H. M. frigate Melampus, Bay of Algiers,
August 30.

Hon. Sir,

Lord Exmouth, during his short stay at Gibraltar, having increased his force with some gun-boats, and made all his arrangements, on the 14th of August the united squadrons put to sea.

On the 16th, off Cape de Gatte, the Prometheus corvette joined the fleet. Captain Dashwood reported that he had succeeded in getting the family of the British Consul at Algiers on board by stratagem; but their flight being too soon discovered, the Consul, together with two boats' crews of the Prometheus, had been arrested by the Dey, who, having already received a report of this second expedition, had made all preparations for an obstinate opposition, and summoning the inhabitants of the interior, had already assembled more than 50,000 men, both Moors and Arabs, under the walls of Algiers.

His Lordship, on whom I waited in the morning, was afraid that he should that day be obliged to rest satisfied with coming to an anchor, and confine himself for the night to an attack by bomb-vessels, gun and rocket-boats. Scarcely had I returned on board my vessel, when the sea-breeze sprung up, and the fleet bore into the bay with press of sail; the four bomb-vessels immediately took their station before the town, and every thing was prepared for the attack. Shortly afterwards, his Lordship communicated to me by private signal—"I shall attack immediately, if the wind

does not fail." Upon this, I immediately made signal to form line of battle in the order agreed upon, in the supposition that all the officers must have been well acquainted with the position of the forts and batteries that fell to our share, before the attack was to begin; but as it appears the signal was not well understood, I resolved to change line, and to lead it myself in the Melampus. At half-past one o'clock the whole fleet bore up in succession, the Melampus closing in with the rearmost ship of the English line; and at fifteen minutes past two o'clock, we saw Lord Exmouth with the Queen Charlotte before the wind, with sails standing, come to anchor with three anchors from the stern, with her broadside in the wished-for position, within pistol-shot of the batteries, just before the opening of the Mole.

This daring and unexpected manœuvre of this vessel, (a three-decker,) appears to have so confounded the enemy, that a second ship of the line had already well nigh taken her position before the batteries opened their fire; which, how violent soever, was fully replied to.

Having told Captain de Man that I wished as speedily as possible, with the Melampus, and the other frigates in succession, to take our position on the larboard side of Lord Exmouth, and draw upon our squadron all the fire of the southern batteries, the Captain brought his frigate in a masterly manner under the cross-fire of more than a hundred guns; the bowsprit quite free of the Glasgow, with an anchor from the head and stern, in the required position, so as to open our larboard guns at the same minute.

Captain Zievogel, who was fully acquainted with the above plan, and with the batteries, brought his frigate, the Diana, nearly at the same moment within a fathom's length of the place where I had wished it, for our directed posisition. The Dageraad, Captain Polders, also immediately opened her batteries in the best direction. The Captains

Van der Straaten and Van der Hart, by the thick smoke, and not being so fully acquainted with the localities, were not so fortunate in the first moments; but worked with the greatest coolness, and under the heaviest fire, so as to give their batteries a good direction. The Eendragt, Captain-Lieut. Wardenburg, which I had placed in reserve, in order to be able to bring assistance, remained under the fire of the batteries close by. Our ships had not fired more than half an hour, when Lord Exmouth acquainted me that he was very much satisfied with the direction of the fire of our squadron on the southern batteries; because these giving now as little hindrance as possible, he commanded the whole of the Mole, and all the enemy's ships.

His Majesty's squadron, as well as the British force, appeared to be inspired with the devotedness of our magnanimous chief to the cause of all mankind; and the coolness and order with which the terrible fire of the batteries was replied to, close under the massy walls of Algiers, will as little admit of description, as the heroism and self-devotion of each individual generally, and the greatness of Lord Exmouth in particular, in the attack of this memorable day.

The destruction of nearly half Algiers, and, at eight o'clock in the evening, the burning of the whole Algerine navy, have been the result of it. Till nine o'clock, Lord Exmouth remained with the Queen Charlotte in the same position, in the hottest of the fire; thereby encouraging every one not to give up the begun work until the whole was completed, and thus displaying such perseverance, that all were animated with the same spirit, and the fire of the ships against that of a brave and desperate enemy appeared to redouble.

Shortly afterwards, the Queen Charlotte, by the loosening of the burning wreck, being in the greatest danger, we were, under the heaviest fire, only anxious for the safety of our

noble leader; but upon offering him the assistance of all the boats of the squadron, his reply was, "that having calculated every thing, it behoved us by no means to be alarmed for his safety, but only to continue our fire with redoubled zeal, for the execution of his orders, and according to his example."

His Lordship at last, at about half an hour to ten o'clock, having completed the destruction in the Mole, gave orders to retire without the reach of the enemy's fire; which I, as well as the others, scrupled to obey, before the Queen Charlotte was in safety from the burning ships.

In this retreat, which, from the want of wind, and the damage suffered in the rigging, was very slow, the ships had still to suffer much from a new-opened and redoubled fire of the enemy's batteries; at last, the land-breeze springing up, which Lord Exmouth had reckoned upon, the fleet, at twelve, came to anchor in the middle of the bay.

The Queen Charlotte, under the fire of the batteries, passing the Melampus under sail, his Lordship wished to be able to see me, in order to completely reward me by shaking my hand in the heartiest manner, and saying, "I have not lost sight of my Dutch friends: they have, as well as mine, done their best for the glory of the day."

The circumstance of the general order of Lord Exmouth to the fleet, of which I have the honour to enclose a copy, must make the squadron hope for his Majesty's satisfaction.

For our loss in killed and wounded, I have to refer you to the subjoined list. It is remarkably small for ships exposed to a fire of eight hours' duration, in comparison with that of the English ships. In the damage done to our rigging, &c. your Excellency will observe that we have been less fortunate.

The day after the action, Lord Exmouth sent a second summons to the Dey, of which his Lordship sent me a copy.

It is stated, that by the destruction of half Algiers, and of his whole navy, the Dey was now chastised for his faithless conduct at Bona, &c., and that he could only prevent the total destruction of the town, by the acceptance of the conditions of the preceding day. The signal of the acceptance of the conditions was the firing of three shots, which three hours afterwards we had the satisfaction of hearing. In a conference with two persons empowered by the Dey, on board Lord Exmouth's ship, at which myself, together with Admiral Milne and Captain Brisbane were present, all the points were regulated. The conclusion of the peace for England and the Netherlands was celebrated by the firing a salute of twice twenty-one cannon, and I have now the satisfaction of wishing you joy on the successful termination of the efforts of his Majesty in the cause of humanity.

I shall have the honour, on a future opportunity, to report farther to your Excellency, and am,

With the highest respect, &c.

J. Van de Capellan.

Engd. by F. Engleheart, 141 Fleet Street

MONUMENT erected to the MEMORY of LORD EXMOUTH in the CHURCH of CHRISTOW.

Lord Exmouth was buried at Christow, the parish in which are the family mansion and estate of Canonteign. The flag under which he fought at Algiers was used for a pall, and a young oak, to bear his name, was planted near the grave; a suitable memorial for a British seaman.

A monument has since been erected to his memory in the church at Christow. A facia, supported by two Doric pillars, bears his crest and motto, encircled with the ribbon and motto of the Bath, surmounted with a coronet, and supported with naval trophies. Between the pillars, an urn, with the initials E. P., and crowned with sea-weed, rests on a sarcophagus. On the pediment are stanzas on his conduct at the wreck of the Dutton, which were written by a spectator, and recited at a public dinner given on the occasion by the Corporation of Plymouth. The sarcophagus bears the following inscription:

In a vault beneath repose the remains of
The Right Hon. Edward Pellew, Viscount and Baron Exmouth,
of Canonteign, a Baronet, and LL.D. Vice-Admiral of the United Kingdom,
and Admiral of the Red Squadron of His Majesty's Fleet,
Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath,
also of the Royal and distinguished Order of Charles the Third of Spain,
Of the Military Order of William of the Netherlands,
Of the Royal Sicilian Order of St. Ferdinand and Merit,
Of the Military Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazare of Sardinia, and
Knight of the Most Honourable and Most Ancient Order of the Annunciation
of Savoy,
High Steward of Great Yarmouth, and one of
the Elder Brethren of the Hon. Corporation of the Trinity House.

This private and more humble monument records his Christian virtues:
His active benevolence, which often risked his life to
rescue fellow-creatures from the deep, and to break the chains of
Christian brethren, mourning in helpless captivity in a heathen land.

All human glory ceases in the grave: but far dearer is the memory of
that devout faith which led him in deep humility to the cross of Christ,
the star which guided him to his desired haven,
the anchor of his hope, when, on the death-bed of the just,
he yielded up his soul to his Redeemer.

He departed in peace, on the 23d day of January,
in the year of our Lord 1833, and in the 76th year of his age.

This monument is erected by his grateful and affectionate family,
to the memory of the best of husbands and of parents.
His eminent public services are recorded in the annals
and live in the memory of a grateful Country.

LINES WRITTEN TO COMMEMORATE
LORD EXMOUTH'S humane and magnanimous conduct,
when, at the imminent risk of his life, he rescued, (under the blessing of Divine Providence)
near five hundred souls—men, women, and children, many of whom were sick,
from the wreck of the Dutton, East Indiaman, in a tremendous storm,
January 26, 1796.

While o'er the reeling wreck the savage storm
Pour'd all its lightnings, thunders, blasts, and hail;
And every horror in its wildest form
Smote the firm heart, that never knew to fail;

'Twas thine, PELLEW, sublimely great and good!
For man, thy brother man, distress'd, to dare
The dreadful passage of the raging flood,
And join the frantic children of despair.

There it was thine, in comfort's balmy tone,
To soothe their sorrows 'mid the tempest's roar;
To hush the mother's shriek—the sick man's groan,
And bear the suff'rers trembling to the shore.

So when this mighty orb, in dread alarm,
Shall crash in ruins, at its God's decree;
May thy Redeemer, with triumphant arm,
From the vast wreck of all things—rescue thee.

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